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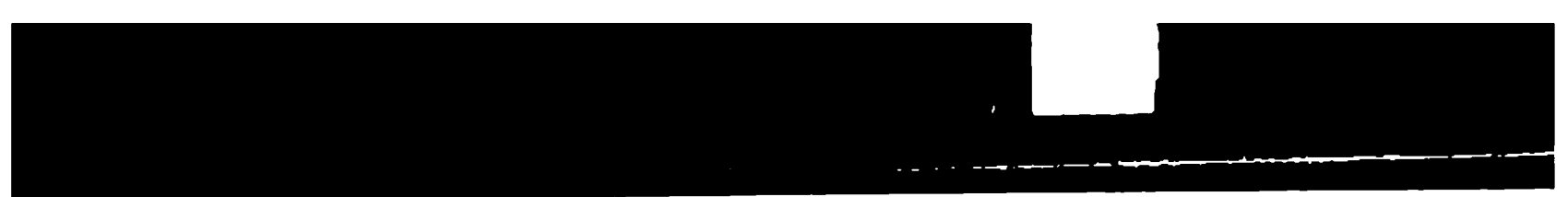
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AMERICAN CHARITIES

BY

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WITH A BIOGRAPHICAL PREFACE

BY

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NEW YORK

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DEDICATED

TO

Mr. John Glenn

**FORMERLY CHAIRMAN OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
OF THE CHARITY ORGANIZATION SOCIETY
OF BALTIMORE**

"The subject has great attractions: As science, because it links phenomena to phenomena, and reveals their laws; as philanthropy, because the knowledge of these laws may be used as a weapon to conquer the vice, the crime, the misery which science investigates."

—RICHARD L. DUGDALE.

"If I have rightly conceived the dominant idea of the modern philanthropy, it is embodied in a determination to seek out and to strike effectively at those organized forces of evil, at those particular causes of dependence and intolerable living conditions which are beyond the control of the individuals whom they injure and whom they too often destroy."

—EDWARD T. DEVINE.

BIOGRAPHICAL PREFACE.

ON the appearance of Warner's "American Charities" fourteen years ago, its unique character was at once recognized. For that work is the first thoroughgoing scientific treatment of the most difficult and perhaps the most important of the ever widening group of sociological arts to which happily Professor Henderson has given the generic name of "social technology." It possesses an enduring, a vital quality which in the judgment of scholars has already won for it the rank of "classic in philanthropy." With remarkable clearness Dr. Warner perceived the new dynamic tendency which was destined soon to revolutionize economic and sociological thought. In the outset with trenchant phrase he exposes the sterility of the prevalent *laissez faire* dogma. "People are tired of the gospel of inaction," he exclaims, "and the teacher has been compelled to heed their demand for guidance in the doing of constructive work. . . . Students must be trained in a more generous political economy than that of Senior and Miss Martineau," if they are to achieve success in organized philanthropy.

Therefore the time is ripe for a new edition of the "American Charities." It is significant that in the statement of principles no essential change is required. The book deserves to be perpetuated because of its perennial scientific quality. This is the more remarkable considering that only two years ago, in Ward's epoch-making "Applied Sociology," appeared the first systematic discussion of the basic law which must govern all wise effort for social reform. The real function of education, of opportunity, is now better

understood; and in clearer view of the fact that intellectual man, as opposed to the lower animal, is capable of "transforming his environment," the pitiless and hopeless dogma of social *laissez faire* is effectually discredited. On the other hand, the statistics, illustrations, and other details have required many additions and a thorough revision. During the decade and a half since Warner wrote, an immense mass of work in special lines has been done. Almost every month adds to the number of organizations and swells the volume of technical or popular literature devoted to social self-help in its many related forms. Moreover, if there is need of putting the book abreast of the available materials, in a few cases there has been a decided change of public attitude which likewise demands recognition. This is true, notably, regarding the causes of poverty. "What Warner wrote on the causes of poverty," suggests the editor, "is now accepted as the best statement so far as it goes; but the discussion now centres around the standard of living."

In every way it is fortunate that Mrs. Coolidge has accepted the call to prepare the second edition of this standard work. It is fitting that the pupil, colleague, and friend of the author should take his place. By professional training and experience she is admirably equipped for the successful discharge of a public service which her relations with the author and his family must make a loving duty. After gaining valuable experience as teacher at Wellesley College, Mrs. Coolidge completed her academic training at Stanford, where Warner was then head of the department of economics. Under his direction, she studied for a year or more before taking her doctorate in practical sociology. This led to her being asked to undertake the course in charities when, on account of illness, Warner was compelled to give up his university duties. Afterwards she studied in the School of Philanthropy in New York, did

some practical charity work in that city, became closely connected with the Associated Charities of San Francisco, and gave the courses in Charities, Penology, the Family, and Race Problems at Stanford from 1897 to 1904. In 1906-1907 she acted as head of the South Park Settlement in San Francisco, while also taking part in the charity movements there. It is proper, likewise, to mention the more important of Dr. Coolidge's own published writings. Her monograph on "Almshouse Women" (1895), her study of the "Statistics of College and Non-College Women" (1901), and her book on the "History of Chinese Immigration" (1908) afford ample evidence of her literary and scientific powers. In preparing the original edition of the "American Charities," she aided Professor Warner in reading proof, verifying materials, and in making suggestions upon the last few chapters. Furthermore, before his death Warner expressed the wish that should the book ever go to a second edition Mrs. Coolidge might be asked to revise it.

Amos Griswold Warner was born at Elkader, Iowa, December 21, 1861. Three months earlier his father, a physician, had been instantly killed in an accident while returning from a professional visit. The son's salient traits of mind and character may readily be traced in those of his parents. The father, Dr. Amos Warner, was endowed with sound common sense and discriminating judgment. With independence of thought and great tenacity of opinion, he combined the happy faculty of winning friendship and of strongly attaching his friends to himself. These characteristics were enhanced in the son by the rich legacy which he inherited from his gifted mother. Mrs. Esther Carter Warner was a woman of rare strength and beauty of character. According to a friend who knew her for twenty years, "she was kindly and sympathetic, cheerful and active, tolerant, intelligent, firm and uncompromising

when principle was at stake, strong in body and in mind.”¹ She was of the best material of which builders of new states are made; and her active interest in the great moral and social movements of the day was maintained almost to the time of her death, in 1901, at the age of eighty-two.

In 1864 the mother, with her four children, removed to the Territory of Nebraska, settling on a “homestead” near the present village of Roca, some twelve miles south of the plain on which Lincoln, the capital of the state, now stands. Here Warner grew to young manhood, gained a fair common school training, and conceived for country life the passionate fondness which he never lost. In 1878 he entered the preparatory department of the University of Nebraska. Outwardly, he was then a typical farmer lad: awkward of manner, his face tanned and freckled by exposure to sun and wind, his clothes of the severest country type. Yet soon it was perceived by us all that a rare mind had come among us. The enthusiastic youth threw himself heart and brain into all the larger and nobler activities which make up the modern academic life. He found himself citizen of a democratic society — a microcosm of the larger world beyond — in which he might enjoy the rights and privileges of a full franchise. He soon became a leader in student affairs — a pioneer in the upbuilding of collegiate institutions. Very important for him is the part which a youth takes in the making of the institutions which form the academic life. As he is strong or weak in that life, so is he likely to be in the future civic life. In many directions Warner made his influence felt, and always in a wholesome way, on the institutional growth of the University. In debate, on the college press, in the daily routine of the classroom, he bore his part ably and modestly as became the future leader of men.

To the discerning eye, Warner’s work in college bore the

¹ Professor Laurence Fossler, in his Warner memorial address.

stamp of originality; but in the conventional sense he was not brilliant. Instead of aiming at uniform excellence in all his studies, he preferred to dwell upon those which appealed to him as most fruitful and most inspiring. His mind refused to be hampered by the shackles of routine. "His powers of concentration were great," writes one who was successively fellow-student, teacher, and colleague; "but he looked for the main point only — the central idea. He wasted little time on non-essentials or on useless details. Yet it would be an error to conclude that he did not master details when necessary; but for him they were only a means to an end. This power of discrimination between the important and the non-essential was one of the most characteristic traits of his genius. Strength and initiative marked his student career, rather than technical scholarship."¹

Warner had a delicate sense of humor which has seldom been equalled. In later years it gave a pungent flavor to his speech and writing. In his student days it made him a leader in college fun—in true college fun; the kind which gives free expression to the joy and good-will of a manly but gentle soul never unmindful of the rights or the feelings of others. He was not found among those who, in the name of a college joke, delight in tormenting persons mentally or physically weaker than themselves; nor among those whose only claim to academic distinction is the wearing of good clothes; nor among those who seek a reputation for "manliness" by venturing on forbidden paths.

In another way Warner's originality and strength of character were disclosed. It was not his early purpose to enter on one of the so-called "higher" professions. He had decided to graduate and then to carry the culture which he had gained into a farmer's life. Only in his senior year, apparently, was this purpose given up. He then became deeply interested in historical studies. The influence which

¹ Professor H. W. Caldwell, on Warner, "The Teacher and Scholar."

definitively fixed his growing inclination to prepare himself for a scholar's career came to him through a piece of research work done in connection with a course of study in the history of the French Revolution. His thesis on the "Causes of the Jacobin Conquest" led him on to further mental achievement.

Accordingly, in the autumn of 1885, — three months after taking the bachelor's degree, — he entered the Johns Hopkins University as a graduate student in economics. Very soon, among the thirty or forty men gathered around the seminary table, by common consent Warner was cheerfully conceded the first rank.¹ His unusual success won for him a fellowship at the close of the first year of study. A few months later, in the beginning of 1887, — with more than a year's work yet to do before reaching the doctorate, — he received his first call to public service. One Sunday a characteristic address on some social problem attracted the notice of Mr. John Glenn, member of an old Maryland family, and deeply interested in practical philanthropy. As a result, Warner accepted an invitation to become the General Secretary of the Charity Organization Society of Baltimore. The plough-boy of Roca undertook this extremely difficult social service for the Southern metropolis, and he discharged his task with conspicuous success. His work drew the attention of the philanthropists of the entire country. His was essentially the creative task of a pioneer. An effective organization was developed. "He did not confine himself entirely to the sifting of the honest and deserving paupers from among the more numerous frauds," — for he drove vagrants from the city, — "but he became a student of the problems involved in pauperism, writing much and speaking frequently of his conclusions."² In the work of the Society he remained until the summer of 1889,

¹ According to the testimony of a fellow-student, Judge Lincoln Frost.

² Judge Lincoln Frost, on Warner, "The Graduate."

the year after he had taken the Ph.D. degree. Meantime, through mutual respect and admiration, Warner and Glenn had become fast friends. At the latter's instance, the General Secretary was permitted to name his own successor; and, equally significant, the "American Charities" is dedicated to "Mr. John Glenn, Chairman of the Executive Committee of the Charity Organization Society of Baltimore." "While he was secretary," declared the Society after Warner's death, "a great impetus was given to our work; and the progress made since his departure is largely due to the foundation laid by his good sense, energy, and devotion."

Now came his first call to teach. In September, 1889, as associate professor, Warner was placed in charge of the department of economics in the University of Nebraska. During the two years that he held this chair, he gave abundant proof of his originality of mind and of his extraordinary power as a teacher. He developed his course in the scientific study of industrial corporations—the first ever offered in an American university. His strength as a teacher was displayed, not so much in the ordinary routine of didactic instruction, but chiefly in the promotion of original research. Hence his personality and his methods appealed most powerfully to the graduate students of his seminary, where his alert and fertile mind fairly teemed with inspiring hints and with fruitful subjects for investigation. In harmony with this view is the judgment of Professor Edward Alsworth Ross, his colleague in the department of economics at Stanford. As evidenced by his writings, "Dr. Warner had the pioneering mind." His "teaching, too, was original. He loved to cut loose from texts and get at things. He had his students visit jails, almshouses and asylums, police courts and city halls, that they might see and judge for themselves. In these first-hand investigations and reports, his students developed a power they will

never lose. All who came near Dr. Warner felt the bracing ozone of his great common sense. Life on the farm had given him an instinct for reality which no doctrinaire could destroy. He was of the new victorious younger school of economists, and in his hands economics never became lifeless or dismal. In a day when isms were more rife than they are now, he kept his head clear and sent folly flying with a homely illustration or a pungent epigram."¹

Then followed the second and most important call to public service. In 1891 he was selected by President Harrison to become the first Superintendent of Charities for the District of Columbia under the act which Congress had recently passed. The appointment was in no sense political. In fact it was opposed by both senators from Nebraska, who desired the office as a "plum" for an "old soldier" of their party. Through the influence of such men as John Glenn, Professor Ely, President Gilman, and Senator Dawes, the place came to him in recognition of the preëminent fitness which his administration of the charities of Baltimore had disclosed.² It was a post demanding hard work, signal ability, and rare tact in the management of men. The charities of the District were in a chaotic condition. The appropriations of Congress were distributed in a haphazard and ineffective way among a number of ecclesiastical and private philanthropic institutions. Any plan of the superintendent to apportion equitably and scientifically the funds hereafter to be pro-

¹ Ross, in the *Charities Review*, x. (March, 1900), p. 1.

² "Our friend, who was not an applicant for the place and merely knew that his name was on file with the President, was awakened at midnight one night and came down town to read the press despatch telling of his appointment. He took it with his usual calmness, but with a little more than his usual seriousness. The surprise did not throw him off his balance in the least. He saw not the honor that had come to him, but the responsibility. His thought was not of elation, but of determination to succeed." — WILL OWEN JONES, on Warner, "The Friend,"

vided by Congress was sure to provoke selfish opposition. A powerful hostile lobby had to be overcome. How all difficulties eventually were surmounted and the great task of carrying out the design of the federal statute finally was accomplished cannot here be described. It must suffice to say that the suggestions regarding the details of organization and the appropriations of money submitted in Warner's two special reports were adopted and put in force by Congress; and thus a model system of organized charities was created for the national capital. Meantime he had achieved a supplementary work of great social value to the city. At his instance Congress had been induced to found a Board of Children's Guardians, an institution only second in importance to the charity organization itself.

Warner's second call to teach came from Stanford University in 1893, two years before his term as superintendent had expired. While serving the government in Washington, he told the writer that he had decided not to take up professional academic work again. The influence which changed his mind and determined his coming to Stanford was the gift to that institution of the Hopkins Railway Library. Warner was deeply interested in railroad problems, as he was in all questions connected with industrial corporations; and now he saw an opportunity for a new institution—a railway school of unique character, one whose curriculum should comprehend not merely financial and economic problems, but practical courses in administration and engineering as well. Had his life been spared, probably in due time this ideal would have been realized, and so Stanford University would have had in history the distinction of founding the first railway school.

But this was not to be. When he began his work at Stanford, in the spring of 1893, his physical strength was already impaired by too strenuous labors in Washington. Toward the close of the academic year, in 1894, he wrote

the "American Charities." It was a fatal *tour de force*. Although in large measure the fruit of years of thought and experience, in its published form it was struck off in a very few weeks of incessant toil. Under this fearful strain his constitution began to yield, and during the ensuing summer its ruin was made complete through the exposure endured in an outing trip. In November, 1894, under his physician's advice, he gave up teaching and began what proved to be five years' vain search for health. The pathetic story of that heroic struggle is known and need be known only to his dearest friends. More and more brightly shone out the nobility of his character. Bravely and cheerfully he faced the inevitable, while always he was accompanied and cherished by his wise and courageous wife. His mind was ever busy with the great social problems which filled his intellectual life; and during much of this period his family was supported on the money earned by his remarkable articles in the *Record and Guide*. In the fall of 1897 he ventured to return to Stanford in the hope of taking up his teaching work again. The hope was vain; although it was at this time that he wrote and delivered those "Lay Sermons" in which so clearly his white soul is revealed. The end came after three more years of waiting and wandering. He died at Las Cruces, New Mexico, January 17, 1900. "Now he lies in the soil of his dear Nebraska, on a beautiful hill overlooking the little village of Roca and the broad valley and prairies beyond."¹

On the fifth day of September, 1888, Warner married Miss Cora Ellen Fisher, an alumna of his *alma mater*. Two children, a girl and a boy, were born of their marriage. The wife and children are still living.

It would perhaps be misleading to assert that in the mere volume of his writings Warner's short life was uniquely productive as compared with other scholars of the first rank.

¹ Professor Laurence Fossler, in his Warner memorial address.

Yet his published bibliography,¹ though not exhaustive, shows that his pen was ever busy with helpful work. His reputation as an author and as a constructive scientific thinker must, of course, always rest chiefly on the "American Charities." Still, many of his minor papers and monographs are of distinct and lasting value. They hold an honorable place in the literature of the new dynamic economics and in that of the new scientific philanthropy. Ever Warner had an eye on the practical, striving to render science helpful to men. His thought is pervaded by the spiritual utilitarianism which is the mark of the fruitful scholarship of the modern age.

Among the writings of the formative period of his university life, giving earnest of his powers and displaying the characteristics of his style, are the "Sketches from Territorial History" (in *Transactions and Reports of the Nebraska State Historical Society*, 1887, ii., 18-63), an enlightening discussion from the sources of the episode of "wild-cat banks" and of some other incidents of Nebraska frontier days; and the "Three Phases of Coöperation in the West," published by the Johns Hopkins University in the useful pioneer volume devoted to the "History of Coöperation in the United States" (*Studies*, 1888, vi., 363-439). Perhaps the best examples of his utilitarian handling of scientific problems are "Some Experiments on Behalf of the Unemployed" (in *Quarterly Journal of Economics*, October, 1890), and "Railway Problems in a Western State" (in *Political Science Quarterly*, March, 1891). The last-named paper is still the only helpful discussion of the early phase of railroad building in Nebraska through the aid of subsidies supplied by local taxation. It is fitting also to emphasize the "Economic Notes regarding Luxury" (in *A.A.A.S.*, 1889, xxxviii.); for, although during the two

¹ Appended to the "Lay Sermons" (1904), 67-70; also in *Johns Hopkins University Studies* (1904), xxi., 481-484.

decades which have since elapsed the meaning of luxury among human wants considered as social forces has become more and more important as a factor in the problem of social evolution, Warner's luminous discussion remains one of the most helpful which the sociological student can take in hand. Nor should the hundred unsigned editorials contributed to the *New York Record and Guide* be overlooked.¹ Many of these were produced, partly in solution of the bread-and-butter question, during that long and tragic grapple with the dread disease. They teem with the wise and brave thoughts of a sane and well-filled mind. Often written when the author was far away from books, yet always the subject is handled with a firm grasp. Moreover, there was no dearth of topics; for upon his eager and open mind ever crowded more themes than his bi-weekly manuscript could compass.

The four "Lay Sermons" (Johns Hopkins University, 1904), with a bibliography and an introductory biographical sketch, were published as a memorial by his friends. These sermons were delivered at Stanford University in the autumn of 1897, and the author must have felt they were a farewell message to his students. They are indeed a precious legacy from a teacher whose daily life was a sermon inspiring to noble effort. His character expresses the ethical value of the clean-hearted, single-minded, brave, and cultured teacher. "Others have spoken of the justness of his judgments," exclaims Professor Charles Newton Little; "to me he was the sane man always." To the present writer, who had the honor of being counted among his teachers, his colleagues, and his intimate friends, there is no more inspiring lesson than that afforded by the brief career of Amos Griswold Warner. Behold the country lad as he swiftly rises to the highest academic honors! See him as with

¹ Only about two-thirds of the whole number of these articles are listed in the printed bibliography.

BIOGRAPHICAL PREFACE.

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master hand he skilfully grapples with the hard social problems of two great cities! In his "American Charities" he laid the lasting foundation of a science, while in his course on Industrial Corporations he organized an important branch of another. But there is something more precious than all these things: the influence for social righteousness ever reflected from his pure heart and lofty mind. One may compare it in its results to a diamond cast into the water. The circling waves of moral and intellectual influence recede and spread away until they break on the uttermost shores of time.

GEORGE ELLIOTT HOWARD.

**UNIVERSITY OF NEBRASKA,
July 1, 1908.**



REVISER'S NOTE.

WARNER'S "Charities" was the first attempt to cover systematically the field of American charities and to formulate, at the same time, the principles of relief which had been evolved from a century of benevolence. Since it was written,—and, in part, because it was written,—the horizon of charities has immensely widened; many valuable books dealing with special lines of charity have been published, and a few, from different points of view, have treated the same subjects.

In bringing the book down to date, the reviser has been careful not to alter the distinctive color which Professor Warner gave to his book and which constitutes its chief value and charm. Nor has there been occasion, except in a few instances, to restate the principles laid down by him. Warner saw what was permanent and vital, but the developments of the past fifteen years have made it necessary to insert a wholly new chapter on the Facts and Conditions of Poverty, in order to round out his discussion of the causes of poverty in a direction for which no material of record existed when he wrote.

This second edition is re-dedicated to Professor Warner, in acknowledgment of the debt which the reviser owes to him as a student, and in the hope that with it his influence upon American charity will be perpetuated.



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PART I.

HISTORICAL AND THEORETICAL.



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PART I.

HISTORICAL AND THEORETICAL.

CHAPTER I.

PHILANTHROPY AND THE SCIENCES.

THE science of political economy, as we know it, is hardly more than a century old; while the art of aiding the poor has been practised from time immemorial. When the patriarch Job was justifying himself, he spoke of his work for the unfortunate in language which is still considered suitable for describing an ideal philanthropist, and which in part is now used as a motto by several charity organization societies.¹ Before Christianity was a power, and far beyond the influence of the Hebrew faith, the instinct of sympathy for those in distress prompted to kindly acts which philosophers commended and religious leaders enjoined. An imposing array of texts exhorting to charity, and prescribing the methods of it, may be gleaned from the pagan writers of antiquity. The beggar is known to almost all literatures with which we are acquainted; and where beggars are, there must also be those that give. In China, long before the Christian era, there were refuges for the aged and sick poor, free schools for poor children, free eating-houses for wearied laborers, associations for the dis-

¹ "When the ear heard me, then it blessed me; and when the eye saw me, it gave witness to me: because I delivered the poor that cried, and the fatherless, and him that had none to help him. The blessing of him that was ready to perish came upon me: and I caused the widow's heart to sing for joy. . . . I was eyes to the blind, and feet was I to the lame. I was a father to the poor: and the cause which I knew not I searched out."

tribution of second-hand clothing, and societies for paying the expenses of marriage and burial among the poor.¹

Intermittently from the first, the altruistic instinct seems to have been reënforced, or its acts counterfeited, by egoistic instincts, originating in educational, or political, or religious considerations. The first of these subsidiary motives was doubtless the weakest of the three. The desire to promote self-culture by development of the benevolent impulses is largely a modern form of selfishness, and yet we find traces of it among the ancients.

Formerly, as now, political considerations frequently led to acts of charity when the motive was absent. Free or greatly cheapened corn for the Roman people, though nominally only rendering to them what was their own, was, in fact, a mischievous gratuity; and while sympathy for the people undoubtedly actuated many who favored the largesses, yet the efficient cause of their continual increase was political self-seeking.² So the legislation for the better care of exposed infants, and for the support of young women with children (*Puellae Faustinianae*), of the later Roman Empire resulted partly from sympathy for the unfortunates, and largely from a wish to fill up the depleted ranks of the Roman and Italian population.

The commonest and most powerful incentive to benevolence has been everywhere and at all times that supplied by religion. Any impulse or habit that is for the good of the race is likely in the course of time to be fixed and intensified by religious sanctions. Almost all customs, including the organization of the family and of the government, and even habits of dress, diet, and cleanliness, have

¹ See Crooker, "Problems in American Society," chapter on "Scientific Charity," for this and other references to antiquity.

² The indiscriminate granting of pensions to the Union soldiers of the Civil War results from the same mixed motives, among which political considerations are the final and efficient cause of mischievously reckless disbursements.

been thus confirmed. For present purposes we need not bother ourselves with teleological considerations, nor inquire whether the useful impulses and habits originated in a divine command supernaturally revealed, or whether they had their origin in spontaneous variation or rational adaptation, and were then seized upon, and perpetuated by the religious instincts. To whatever source we may trace the sentiment of pity and the desire to relieve the destitute, it certainly had not been in existence long before its cultivation was enjoined by religious authority.

Religion, however, like the subsidiary motives based on educational or political considerations, has too frequently substituted self-seeking for self-sacrifice as the motive power in aiding the poor. Mr. Crooker well says that the charity of antiquity was very largely "a means of obtaining merit." "The riches of the infinite God," says the *Vendidad*, "will be bestowed upon him who relieves the poor;" or, according to a Hindu epic, "He who giveth without stint food to a fatigued wayfarer, never seen before, obtaineth merit that is great." It was when Job was justifying himself that he enumerated his works of mercy.

On the other hand, while rewards were offered for benevolent work, punishments were promised for hard-heartedness. The grim threat of the Talmud, "The house that does not open to the poor shall open to the physician," is typical of many passages that might be quoted from the earlier religious writings. Under the influence of such threats or of more direct ones, believers felt constrained to aid the poor for purely selfish reasons, to do some overt act that seemed to have been prescribed, in order that it might be accounted to them for righteousness. Subjectively considered, the act itself was not one of charity, but of penance; its motive was not a desire to aid the distressed, but to propitiate a more or less unreasonable deity or fate.

The influence of religion upon the benevolent instincts of

man can be studied in nearly all its phases in the history of charities administered by the Christian church; and in that history can be traced the power of an accepted theology both to exalt and to degrade the charitable impulse. While the antiquarian may be able to point out many traces of active benevolence before the Christian era, while there is much genuine philanthropy outside of Christianity, and while it may even be said that the church of the present day that administers its charities most wisely is not Christian at all, but Jewish,—it yet remains true that charity, as we know it, gets its chief religious sanction and incentive from Him who gave as the summary of all the law and prophets the coördinate commands to love God and to love our neighbor, and who, in explaining these commands, pronounced the parable of the Good Samaritan. At first, Christianity brought to the world a purified and ennobled charity, a love of fellow-men very different from the semi-selfish motives that prompted to prayer, penance, and almsgiving as means to a common end—that of securing divine favor. The diaconate of the early church seems to have been a satisfactory way of organizing what is now called “friendly visiting.”

But the voluntary and congregational charity of the early churches before Constantine was soon replaced by the mediæval ecclesiastical methods of parishes, bishops, monasteries, orders, and institutions, and with the worldly success of the church came degeneration.¹ As the church became an institution administering progressively large revenues, its service of the poor degenerated, partly from worldliness, and partly from “other-worldliness.” Overt worldliness, leading to the misapplication of revenues designed for the relief of the poor, sometimes attained great proportions and was a tendency that honest ecclesiastics found it necessary to fight continually. But such palpable evils wrought little harm, as compared with the dry rot of spiritual selfishness,

¹ Henderson, “World Currents in Charity.”

which caused charity to degenerate into almsgiving for the benefit of the one who gave. The doctrine of Augustine that "alms have power to extinguish and expiate sin," though taught only with qualifications, became the motive power in the charities of the Middle Ages. Gifts to the church for charitable purposes became merely a method of securing a satisfactory balance on the books of the recording angel, a way of getting one's self or others out of purgatory.

As an agent for securing gifts both of property and of personal service the church was almost incredibly successful. If the devotion of material wealth to the relief of the poor could alone have cured destitution, it would have been cured. But we are all familiar with the disastrous results that followed so much indiscriminate giving. A rich church among a multitude of poor, which Emminghaus declares to have been always the ecclesiastical ideal, did not prove a satisfactory arrangement. When Hubert-Valleroux, in discussing the rural charities of France, shows that all the great charitable institutions of that country originally owed their existence to the influence of Christianity through the church, he is historically correct. But when he makes this statement of fact the basis of a plea for the non-intervention of the state in the present administration of charitable institutions, he is wrong; for the history of charitable institutions shows that, while they originated through the influence of the church, it was also through ecclesiastical influence that they degenerated and became mischievous.

The state interfered for many reasons, some of them certainly unworthy; but one sufficient cause was everywhere present—ecclesiastical mismanagement, and the necessity the community was under to protect itself from the spreading disease of pauperism. "In no case," says Lecky, "was the abolition of monasteries effected in a more indefensible manner than in England, but the transfer of property, that was once employed in a great measure in charity, to the

courtiers of King Henry was ultimately a benefit to the English poor; for no misapplication of this property by private persons could produce as much evil as an unrestrained monasticism."¹

In almost every European country, the state first tried to stop beggary and vagabondage by repressive measures, and only when these failed was obliged to assail the evil at one of its sources by taking charge of relief work. This work was taken in hand by the state in Scandinavia at a very early period, in England at the time of the Reformation, in France at the time of the Revolution, and in Italy within the last few years. In Germany, Luther suggested that the church and state should work together to root out beggary, and to lessen as much as possible the misery caused by destitution and disease. The religious wars that followed the Reformation in that country interfered with the immediate transfer of relief work to the state. "The Protestant authorities," says Emminghaus, "were not more prudent than their predecessors where valuable property of the church for the benefit of the poor remained; and wherever the care of the poor was still in ecclesiastical hands, the only alteration in the way in which it was conducted arose from the fact that the church had less abundant means at its disposal. But," he adds, "this fact alone may be considered a great gain, for abundance of means is the greatest danger of all in the relief of the poor."²

From what has been said regarding the failure of the church as an almoner, it must not be inferred that its influence was wholly perverse and mischievous. On the contrary, even Lecky, whose opinion as to the good effects of the secularization of the monastic properties in England has been already noticed, says that the value of Catholic services in alleviating pain and sickness and the more excep-

¹ "History of European Morals," vol. ii., pp. 94-95.

² "Poor Relief in Different Parts of Europe," p. 13.

tional forms of suffering can never be overrated; and even in the field of charity he says: "We must not forget the benefits resulting, if not to the sufferer, at least to the donor. Charitable habits, even when formed in the first instance from selfish motives, even when so misdirected as to be positively injurious to the recipient, rarely fail to exercise a softening and purifying influence on character. All through the darkest period of the Middle Ages, amid ferocity and fanaticism and brutality, we may trace the subduing influence of Catholic charity, blending strangely with every excess of violence and every outburst of persecution."¹ In fact, the church educated the community up to a point where it insisted that a large amount of relief work must be done, and only in attempting to administer large funds did the ecclesiastical machinery work badly and break down. It was inevitable that the state should undertake relief work, but that relief work, and the great access of sympathy for our fellow-men which compelled it, would never have existed except for the influence of the church. But the change from ecclesiastical administration of relief to administration by the state hardly seemed for a time to be an improvement at all. In various parts of Europe public charities were at times as inadequate to meet the necessities of the poor or to improve their industrial condition as those under the church had been. In England at the beginning of the nineteenth century as much was heard of the failure of the poor law as of the monastic system of poor-relief. This administrative weakness had already drawn attention to the economic aspects of poor-relief. Defoe, for example, in his paper on "Giving Alms No Charity," said that the reason why so many pretended to want to work was that they could live so well with the pretence of wanting work. Ricci, in a book on the reform of the institutions of charity in Modena,² traced the gigantic development of mendicancy in Italy to the

¹ Lecky, vol. ii., p. 95.

² Published in 1787.

excessive charity of the people. He seemed to regard as an evil "all charity which sprang from religious motives, and was greater than would spring from the unaided instincts of man."¹

This appeal to a natural man back of the actual man influenced by religion and law, marks Ricci as one moved by the spirit of the times which immediately preceded the French Revolution. This time-spirit influenced the relief of the poor in two ways: one through politics, and one through economics or political economy. Liberty and equality were the two words which represented the regnant ideas of the times. The religious dogma of the brotherhood of man was paralleled by the political dogma of the equality of man, and the result was a tendency to relieve distress with greater promptness and completeness. The revolutionary governments of France guaranteed to all not only opportunities to work, but security against starvation, and the facile manner in which the state in that country still assumes the care of abandoned infants perhaps shows the influence of such philosophers as Rousseau, who believed that children should be raised by the state, and who gladly turned over his own children to be brought up by that agency. Indirectly it is probable that the belief in the political dogma of the equality of men also influenced the administration of the English poor-law, until it culminated in the great abuses which compelled the reforms of 1834. But liberty, not equality, was the first word in the sociological creed of the revolutionary period from 1789 to 1848. And while this word was constantly used by the politicians, the group of men who stood most consistently for it in industrial affairs were the students of the new-born science of political economy.

The earlier economists had little to say regarding the relief of the poor, though the subject was mentioned by Sir

¹ Cited by Lecky, vol. ii., p. 98.

James Steuart and Adam Smith, and others took up the subject of the English poor-laws. It received very full consideration, however, in Malthus's work on the "Principle of Population," where he gave two chapters to the English poor-law and two other excellent ones to the consideration of certain proposals for improving the condition of the poor. Many of the extracts from chapter nine of the second edition of his work might serve as mottoes for modern charity organization societies; though it would not be expedient to use them, since people have insisted on connecting with the name of this English clergyman so much that is brutal and materialistic and hopeless. As a matter of fact, he does not deprecate the exercise of charity, and would even give to it a much broader field than that recently accorded to it by Herbert Spencer; but he calls attention to the fact that there is no direction in which human ingenuity has been more exerted than in the endeavor to ameliorate the condition of the poor, and that there is certainly none in which it has so completely failed. "There is no subject," he adds, "to which general principles have been so seldom applied; and yet, in the whole compass of human knowledge, I doubt if there be one in which it is so dangerous to lose sight of them, because the partial and immediate effects of a particular mode of giving assistance are so often directly opposite to the general and permanent effects."¹

Among the economists of the first quarter of the nineteenth century, Whately and Chalmers dealt quite extensively with the poor-law and the problems of poor-relief. Chalmers reinforced his teachings in this matter by doing away with public relief of the poor in his parish, and providing for their care entirely through voluntary contributions. He believed that all public relief of the poor was bad; and, besides what is contained in his political economy, he wrote upon the subject at length in the three volumes which appear

¹ "Principle of Population," 2d ed., p. 583,

under the title of "The Christian and Civic Economy of Large Towns."

In the second quarter of the century the economists and philanthropists were destined to come into direct collision. They joined issues on two questions, and the victors in one case were vanquished in the other. Curiously enough, each party was defeated on the ground that seemed especially to belong to itself. The economists won in the fight for the reform of the poor-laws, and the philanthropists won in the fight for the protection of women and children in the mines and factories of England. The English economists in their contention for the limitation of the poor-law relief, and for a repeal of the corn-laws, rendered great services to English industry by simply abolishing governmental interference. It is not strange, therefore, that they should have been inclined to go to the extreme in thinking that government could never interfere without doing more harm than good.

The English poor-law, before its reform in 1834, is used by Francis A. Walker to point the moral that while "the legislator may think it hard that his power for good is so closely restricted, he has no reason to complain of any limits upon his power for evil." Describing the operations of the act, Walker says:—

"All its details were unnecessarily bad. The condition of the person who threw himself flat upon public charity was better than that of the laborer who struggled on to preserve his manhood in self-support. The disposition to labor was cut up by the roots. All restraints upon increase of population disappeared under a premium upon births. Self-respect and social decency vanished before a money premium on bastardy."

Professor Senior was an active member of the commission of inquiry regarding the operations of the poor-law, and for some time the reports of the poor-law commission were written in line with the views of the economists. It was while reviewing these reports that Carlyle characterized

political economy as "the dismal science." He thus summarizes the teachings of the economists as evidenced in the reports : —

"Ours is a world requiring only to be well let alone. Scramble along, thou insane scramble of a world ; thou art all right and shall scramble even so. And whoever in the press is trodden down has only to lie there and be trampled broad ; such at bottom seems to be the chief social principle, if principle it have, which the poor-law amendment act has the merit of courageously asserting, in opposition to many things."

A similar view of the disastrous effects of the poor-law administration is expressed by Cunningham, who says : —

"It is impossible to overestimate the irreparable mischief which was done to Englishmen for many generations through the demoralizing influences exercised by some of the administrative methods then in use. The granting of allowances per child has been freely stigmatized as a mischievous stimulus to population ; as a matter of fact, it was much worse ; there is abundant evidence to show that it acted as a direct incentive to immorality. But the evil of the whole system was most patent from the various ways in which it conspired to render the inefficient pauper comfortable at the expense of the good workman who tried to earn a living. The allowance must have had an extraordinary effect in diminishing the rate of wages and forcing men to depend upon supplementary payments out of rates ; and an even worse mischief in some ways was the labor rate ; by this system a ratepayer was obliged to employ a certain number of pauper laborers in accordance with his assessment and to pay them regular wages without reference to their work. An employer might thus be forced to dismiss good hands in order to give employment to inefficient paupers." ¹

It may be questioned, however, whether the earlier interpretation of the results of the poor-laws has not overlooked other factors of equal if not superior importance in the wretched condition of the English working-classes of this period. Marshall declares : —

"Year by year the condition of the working-classes in England be-

¹ "Growth of English Industry and Commerce," vol. ii., pp. 662-663.

came more gloomy: an astonishing series of bad harvests, a most exhausting war, a change in the methods of industry that dislocated old ties, combined with an injudicious poor-law to bring the working-classes into the greatest misery they have ever suffered, at all events since the beginning of trustworthy records of English social history."¹

In a brief historical review of the political and industrial changes which took place just before the reform of the English poor-laws, Devine protests against the dominant idea that the lax administration of relief was solely or even chiefly responsible for the deplorable prevalence of pauperism in England at the beginning of the nineteenth century. He says:—

"England was saved from pauperization, revolution, and other unforeseen disasters, not by deciding to distribute less relief or by deciding that the able-bodied poor, if assisted at all, should be assisted only in the workhouse, wise as these decisions were, but by the rise of religious and political liberty, by introducing in advance of other countries modern forms of agriculture and industry, by developing her commerce and trade, by the adoption of a more nearly democratic organization of society, and by listening to the voice of humane and public-spirited counsels. The lessening of the poor rates was made practicable by and was not the principal cause of the progress of the period."²

Seligman regards the abuses of the early nineteenth century as chiefly due to the change from the domestic to the factory system. "The old poor-law," he says, "did not create English poverty, and the new poor-law did not abolish it."³

But whatever view be taken of the relative significance of the poor-law and of poor-law reform as an explanation of the misery of English laborers and their subsequent progress, the economists of the time were right in standing out for the restriction and modification of public poor-relief.

¹ "Principles of Economics," p. 233.

² "Principles of Relief," pp. 276-277.

³ "Principles of Economics," p. 594.

The laxness of administration may have come in part from the humanitarian bearings of the doctrine of political equality and in part from greater actual need, resulting from the war taxes, the primitive methods of agriculture, industry, and commerce, and other unreformed features of English life of that period; but whatever its cause, it had become by 1832 wholly mischievous. Even if regarded as merely one element in a transitional period, it still is no exception to the established principle that the offer of relief upon easy terms is demoralizing.

In the other struggle of the same period, that for factory legislation, the economists and philanthropists were distinctly opposed; but this time it was the economists that were deservedly beaten. The issue involved the welfare of three hundred thousand operatives, male and female, in the factories of England, and of forty thousand children under thirteen years of age. The question was complicated with many political considerations and was championed by the conservatives, not so much perhaps because the country gentlemen sympathized with the mill-hands, as because it seemed a method by which they could get even with the representatives of the manufacturing towns for the repeal of the corn-laws. Lord Ashley, afterward the Earl of Shaftesbury, leader in the fight for the protection of the operatives, is now acknowledged to have been actuated by the purest motives; but at the time he was bitterly attacked as a "humanity-monger" by the practical men who opposed him. Cobden, in a private letter, sneered at this "canting" and joined with Professor Senior and Miss Martineau in supplying the scientific weapons of offence and defence for such men as John Bright and Gladstone and Peel and Lord Brougham among the politicians.

A majority of economists, both in and out of Parliament, were against the factory acts. Indeed, nearly all the arguing that was done on economic grounds was against the acts.

In a paper which, curiously enough, is the Cobden prize essay for 1891, Jeans observes:—

“Lord Shaftesbury and his opponents played a veritable game of cross questions. They attacked him, for instance, with the threatened ruin of English trade, and the pauperization of the working-class, and he would reply by pointing to the great sanitary or moral or religious benefits which must accrue.”¹

As the Earl of Shaftesbury himself said: “To practical prophecies of overthrow of trade, of ruin to the operatives themselves, I could only oppose ‘humanity’ and general principles.”² Sir John Russell is said to have been converted to support the acts, not by labored arguments, but by being induced to walk back and forth in his parlor for a time over a track similar to that which many of the child operatives had to travel for twelve or more hours a day.

It was sympathy for the operatives, not an appreciation of the good results to be got for English industry by the factory acts, that secured their passage. As the *Encyclopædia Britannica* puts it, “they were passed in the name of the moral and physical health of the community.” Yet Shaftesbury’s speech of May, 1847, and Macaulay’s speech on the ten-hour bill, gave evidence of what a strong case might have been made out for the acts on economic grounds; but these were almost the only examples of such argumentation.³

Although Professor Fawcett, as late as 1878, opposed from his seat in Parliament that part of the consolidated factory acts intended to protect adult women operatives, there is now substantial agreement among economists that Macaulay’s position was well taken. Factory legislation, instead of ruining British industry, reestablished its foundations.

¹ “Factory Act Legislation,” p. 20.

² Hodder, “Life of Shaftesbury,” vol. ii., p. 209.

³ The key-note of Macaulay’s telling speech is struck in this sentence from it: “Never will I believe that what makes a population stronger and healthier and wiser and better can ultimately make it poorer.”—*Speeches*, vol. xi., p. 28.

Some of the parliamentary opponents of the early bills voted for the later ones, and, in publicly recanting, expressly said that they had been misled by the economists and "the gentlemen from Lancashire." The debt owing to the economists for the reform of the poor-laws, the philanthropists had paid.

The experience of England in these two matters very well illustrates the interaction of sense and sympathy in the direction of human affairs. The discussions in the houses of Parliament, between the so-called "humanity-mongers" and the students of the so-called "dismal science," have their counterpart in the opposing considerations which suggest themselves to every thinking man who tries to aid the poor. If our instincts were all healthy, or our intellects all perfect, we could rely upon either side of our nature without fear of blundering. But, as in the case of English legislation, first one party blundered and then the other, so each man, in threading his way along the devious paths of conduct, must sometimes put rational restraints upon his emotions, and at other times must be content to let "his instincts save him from his intelligence." This principle, which holds in national and personal affairs, holds also in the formulation of a true social philosophy. Such a philosophy must recognize that the instincts of men very commonly have their origin or their justification in race experience, and that they are sometimes a more trustworthy guide than reasoning which is conceivably inaccurate, or which may be based on information which is possibly incomplete.

If economics has had some influence on philanthropy, the philanthropic instincts of men are finally coming to have some influence in compelling the broadening of political economy. They dominate too much legislation and determine the expenditure of too much wealth to be left out of account. As we have seen, they are not only powerful, but at times indispensably helpful; and, even if it were possible to ignore them, it would be unwise to do so.

But for two or three decades that branch of social philosophy known as political economy seemed bound, so far as England was concerned, to discredit itself by not recognizing this truth. Its teachings were too final and dogmatic to be influential or even true. Cromwell's exhortation to the theologians of his time might properly have been addressed to the English economists from 1850 to 1880: "In the bowels of the Lord, I beseech you, brethren, consider it possible that you may be mistaken!" Indeed, equivalent exhortations were addressed to them, but without effect. In the United States a few professors of political economy echoed or attacked Manchestrian economics, but for the most part they had no influence. This country was too young to bother with industrial science. Its resources seemed to be so inexhaustible that no thought was given to conserving them. Least of all was it imagined that we need give serious attention to the matter of poor-relief. It was assumed that we were quarantined against poverty and distress by our glorious Constitution and Declaration of Independence. Scarcely a generation ago a writer in the *New York Nation*, when reviewing a work on French charities, half apologized for treating such a subject, but suggested in extenuation that, if we should ever have to organize a system of charities, French experience might be a useful guide. Nevertheless, at that moment were already arising problems of destitution, unemployment, and family disintegration, which have kept pace with the movement of population toward cities and manufacturing centres, and which were in part the result of an undistributed foreign immigration. With the beginning of the twentieth century, America has realized the possibility in these congested localities of conditions as desperate as those with which some parts of Europe have long been familiar.

Thus, in the century following Malthus and Chalmers, philanthropy and economics have gradually been approaching each other, and are now welded into a friendly and in-

dissoluble partnership. An increasing body of students, trained in a more generous political economy than that of Senior and Miss Martineau, are seeking technical discipline in schools of philanthropy in order to devote themselves to professional, administrative, and constructive work in charities. Dismal scientists and humanity-mongers have joined forces for the betterment of society; the economists, on the one hand, recognizing altruism as a fundamental motive of progress; the philanthropists, on the other, giving more and more weight to the economic bearings of all social reform. Simultaneously with increasing demands for systematic charity, a broader and more human political economy has been taking the place of that dismal *laissez-faire* which so vehemently opposed the reforms of English philanthropy. On this side of the Atlantic the renaissance in economics came even earlier than in England, and in many schools it has dealt more directly and thoroughly with the problems of philanthropy than is usual abroad. The Manchestrian economists made slight and for the most part merely negative contributions to the subject, but from the time of Marshall in England and Walker in the United States, every economist has given it a respectful and more or less extended treatment.

In all the larger American colleges courses in causes of poverty, charities, and penology are now given either by the professors of the economics department or by a separate staff in a distinct department under the title of *sociology*; and in a few, other courses of a more constructive character develop still further the economic aspects of altruism. As a recent economist expresses it:—

“The modern theory of economic life fits in not only with the facts of the business world, but with the demands of social reform. The economics of to-day has finally reached the stage where it seeks to retain the cold passivity of science and yet to reflect the warm glow of human interests and living ideals.”

While philanthropy and economics, starting from opposite poles, have been approaching each other and have at last found a common meeting ground, both have at the same time been strongly influenced by the biological sciences. Setting aside the effect of the evolutionary hypothesis upon economic thought, its immediate application to philanthropy raised the question as to whether the ultimate influence of charity in the natural history of mankind was good or evil.¹ Spencer's dictum that the result of shielding people from the consequence of their folly is to fill the world with fools, was indeed no new alarm. Plato, more than two thousand years ago, warned his countrymen of the degradation in store for any nation which perpetuated the unfit by allowing its citizens to breed from enervated stock; and he sketched for them an imaginary republic in which no considerations of inheritance, of family ties, or of pity were permitted to stand in the way of the elimination of the weak and the perfection of the race.² But the evolutionists used the new scientific phraseology, declaring that philanthropy and science promoted the survival of the unfit, who reproduced themselves in an enfeebled progeny, and that this interference with the struggle for existence was pernicious. They maintained that civilization itself developed sympathy, which, in turn, devised methods for protecting the weak, and thus the law of progress was reversed. Moreover, it was said that philanthropy not only perpetuated the weak, but in its essence sacrificed the strong to the weak, as shown by the increase of institutions for the insane, the defective, and incapable, and the devotion of humane persons and vast sums of money to their care.³

At this period, from the biological point of view, there were only two ways of improving the human race: the one by selection, the other by heredity. If the selective pro-

¹ Bagehot, "Works," vol. iv., p. 556.

² Cummings, *Quar. Jour. of Economics*, vol. xli., 1898.

³ Ely, "Evolution of Industrial Society," p. 165.

cesses were suspended from philanthropic motives, there was still opportunity to improve the race, independently of selection, by seeing to it that individuals acquired the characteristics that it was desirable for them to transmit. Just when it seemed to be settled that the only way to improve mankind was by training in a carefully adjusted environment, Professor Weismann appeared with his denial that there was any proof of the transmission of acquired characters. He showed that many of the resemblances of children to parents which had been attributed to heredity were merely the result of similar environment, contending that change of environment and special training affected only the individual, whose life-history could not be passed on to the offspring.

This view not only made valueless much that had been written on the bearing of heredity upon social life and environment, but to some it seemed to make the improvement of the race painfully slow, if not almost hopeless, since the only permanent gain must be made through the selective processes. Others, with a better understanding of the full import of the theory in its application to human life, pointed out that whatever environment might not do for the race it was concededly of the highest importance for the individual. Professor Warner, in the first edition of this book, written shortly after Weismann's conclusions had been published, said: —

“It should also be remembered that among the higher animals, and especially among human beings, the individual is more plastic than in the lower orders; his life-history, and especially the history of his very early life, has more influence upon his character. Therefore, while we must give attention to selection, we cannot conclude that certain families are degenerate and essentially unfit to survive until we have given their offspring the very best opportunities for right development. I would say, then, that to assume Weismann to be right — acquired characteristics to be not transmitted — is possibly the safest working hypothesis, because, on the one hand, it does not limit our efforts

to improve environment, while, on the other hand, it gives us a sharp realization of the importance of selection, a factor which we are otherwise prone to forget or to undervalue. To whatever extent heredity may be ascertained to be a factor in determining character and the consequent career, substantially to that extent the problem of preventing the suffering that comes from destitution is a question of human selection."

A part of the confusion arising from the application of later biological theory came from the inaccurate use of the term "natural selection," as though nature were something apart from man to which he must submit and might not modify. In this sense, natural selection is not only a harsh but expensive way of improving the species. Among men, however, natural selection, in the sense in which that term would be applied to the killing off of young oak trees, is very much modified by two important factors: instinct and reason. The best example of the first is the parental instinct, which causes the parent to stand between the offspring and the remorseless operations of nonsentient nature. Instinctive selection is a step toward something better than natural selection, something more economical of time and energy and life; but it is still a blind and wasteful advance. The excessive development of the sexual instinct, which at one time is necessary to the survival and dominance of the race, may at another become a menace to its welfare. It must then be dominated by reason or by other instincts, or the race will disappear. The instinct of the fighter, once necessary to preserve him in the rude struggles of the time, may at another time leave him a savage in a society which hangs the too combative individual as a murderer. Reason, the second factor in natural selection as applied to human beings, is illustrated when a state enacts laws against murder, or endeavors to establish any other rule of justice than that of the strongest; when it drains a malarial swamp, or provides for sanitary inspection in order to lower the death-

rate; whenever, in short, any action is taken for the set purpose of affecting the death-rate, or the birth-rate, or of promoting the public health. Mr. Ritchie has reminded us that if we are to let purely "natural" selection do its perfect work, we must abolish marriage laws and all laws relative to the inheritance of property.

Rational selection at first, and at its poorest, is only a shade better than instinctive selection. But it is manifest that, at its best and in its possibilities, it is the superior of the other two forms; and those races will eventually survive which practise it most constantly and most wisely. This indicates what is the simple truth, that human "natural selection," could we but understand the latter term in its broadest sense, includes all three,—nonsentient, instinctive, rational,—being made up of the total of selective forces operating upon the human species.

Benevolence has usually operated only on the plane of instinctive selection; but on the whole, even so, it has introduced some improvements into human selection, made that selection less wasteful, and reached results with less expenditure of energy and life. Its services to the species in keeping those who were "fit," from the standpoint of race improvement, from being crushed by temporary and local conditions, overbalance its tendency to keep the essentially "unfit" in existence.

The most obvious result of charity as a selective force has been to lengthen the lives of the individuals cared for. There are many who believe it to be in and of itself a uniformly desirable result. They hold that no spark of human life can be extinguished without greater indirect loss than the direct gain which comes in freedom from the necessity of supporting the individual. They would care with all tenderness for the most misshapen, physically and morally, until death could no longer be postponed. As the author has stood by the beds of consumptive or syphilitic children,

he has wondered if it was a kindness to keep life in the pain-racked body. Cure was out of the question so far as medical science now knows, and one wonders why days of pain should be added to days of pain. The same questions recur as one passes through the incurable wards of an almshouse, especially as one studies the cases of the cancer patients. The answer of religion to such questions is easy, and it seems very sure that without religious incentive we should not have entertained our present views regarding the sanctity of human life.

But now that the feeling is developed, even science can explain in some sort how it is expedient that it should exist. We cannot extinguish or in any wise connive at the extinction of human life without injury to all the instincts and sensibilities that render it possible for us to live together with our fellows in civilized society. The decline of the death penalty as punishment for the most heinous crimes, the secrecy in which its rare enforcement is now enshrouded, and the substitution of the electric current for the axe and the rope testify to the recognition of this principle. Modern society can afford to incur any expense and trouble to preserve the humane instinct in those who represent its laws. Frequently physicians and matrons and superintendents of institutions become so callous to suffering, and so worn out by overstrain, that they almost connive at the extinction of human life. For instance, in the case of a child suffering from hydrocephalus and beyond hope of cure, only the most constant attention could keep him alive; the matron finally somewhat relaxed her vigilance in seeing that he was properly cared for, and indigestion carried him off. This failure to do all that is possible to combat disease is common in many institutions, usually without any consciousness of a willingness to facilitate death, but none the less with a latent feeling that possibly those that die are happier than those that live.

All such neglect of duty is a coming short of the highest ideal of philanthropy, no less than of religion. While physicians may sometimes be justified in chloroforming a monstrous birth, and while, far off, philosophers think they see the coming of a day when we may have legal suicides, and when we can take human life because we are pitiful, and not because we are selfish,¹ yet for the present it must be held that science justifies and philanthropy corroborates Christianity in holding that each spark of human life must be conserved in all tenderness and with all care.²

Eventually this policy compels us to search for causes of degeneration and suffering. Could we cheaply rid ourselves of incapables and close our hearts to the appeal of distress, we might never have the compulsion put upon us of seeking out the wiser plans, which may eventually give us a more uniformly healthy race. Extermination might be an easy cure for pauperism, but it would be a costly remedy biologically; and if we allow our instincts to compel us to forego the use of it, we may ultimately be driven to preventive measures. As we shall see in the subsequent chapters, in proportion as the burden of the dependent has increased and the standard of care risen, the search has spread from symptoms to causes, from causes to conditions of poverty, and culminated in a concerted demand for prevention rather than relief.

The influence of charity in diminishing the death-rate has probably had much to do with the increase in the proportion of insane and feeble-minded persons to the total population. The mere lengthening of the lives of lunatics by better care greatly increases their absolute and relative numbers. Badly administered charities, however, may have

¹ Cf. views of Felix Adler.

² On the powerful and pervasive influence of the altruism born of Christianity upon social and industrial development, see Kidd, "Social Evolution."

exactly the opposite result. An unclean hospital may result in the death of an undue number of the sick brought to it. In one maternity hospital the death-rate rose as high as two women for each five confinements. Previous to and during the sixties, European experience in maternity hospitals gave a mortality rate of about one death to twenty-nine confinements; in some large hospitals it was as high as one in seven. It is only recently that hospital service has become better than home service in this branch of medical practice. Undoubtedly the actual result of many foundling hospitals is to kill more infants than would meet death did such hospitals not exist—the death-rate is fearfully high; sometimes ninety-seven per cent of the children fail to reach the age of three years. Many who support charities designed to save infant life might conclude, if they studied all the facts, that they were contributing to its destruction.

The influence of charity upon the birth-rate is much more obscure. Long before natural selection was discussed under that name, Chalmers called attention to the fact that the relief of the poor from public funds resulted in taking money from the thrifty and giving it to the thriftless. Under the unreformed English poor-law the additional allowance per child was so large as to make it pecuniarily profitable to have large families. As the allowance for illegitimate children was somewhat larger than for those born in wedlock, a premium was put upon illegitimacy. The demonstration was then complete, that a population might be degraded by the charity-induced propagation of the unfit, and that the influence of charity upon the birth-rate is a factor to be reckoned with. A system of charity which might be admissible, could it be applied to an existing generation alone, is wholly inadmissible if it multiplies the number of dependents in succeeding generations. Both Mr. Dugdale and Mr. McCulloch found that the pauper

families they investigated got permission to live from the lavish giving of public outdoor relief, supplemented by indiscriminate giving on the part of individuals.

In the worst-managed almshouses there is sometimes not adequate means of separating the sexes, and the breeding of paupers goes on upon the premises. Formal marriages between almshouse paupers have very frequently received the sanction of both church and state. A much commoner abuse, as we shall find when we come to study these institutions, — one, in fact, from which few American almshouses are free, — is the facility with which the dissolute and diseased can go there until sufficiently recuperated to be able to have children and then discharge themselves. The doors of the hospitals and almshouses swing freely both ways, and the result is a succession of children, especially from half-witted women. These persons would have been able to have no children or few if left entirely without help, and would have been allowed to have none at all had they been properly taken care of. It is coming to be seen that the feeble-minded (a much larger class than many suppose) must have custodial care through life.

While the infant death-rate is known to be increased through institutions that receive without question all children brought to them, it is more of a question, or at least one that is more difficult to answer definitely, whether or not their influence tends to increase the number of illegitimate and abandoned infants. Lax morals and open foundling hospitals usually are found together ; but it is not so easy to demonstrate the causal influence of the institutions in producing laxness of morals, though that they have such an influence is usually believed. The extreme facility and secrecy with which a child could be disposed of to French foundling hospitals of the older type is alleged to have had this result. The author's own observation leads him to think that found-

ling hospitals of the kind usual in America, because of the high death-rate already mentioned, tend to exterminate rather than to multiply the progeny of unfit stock.

A distinct influence upon the quantity and quality of the population is had by those institutions that bring defectives together to be trained, and after training them for self-support, encourage them to marry and to intermarry. This is, of course, most noticeable with the deaf because of the nature of their defect. It does not by any means incapacitate them for self-support, while at the same time it makes the companionship of deaf with deaf especially congenial. The congregate system of education of the deaf has brought them together in a way calculated to promote extensive acquaintance, and sign language tends to make them a peculiar people. It thus comes about that the institutions for the education of the deaf become very definite factors in promoting the propagation of deaf-mutism through inheritance. The latest educational tendency, and one favored by Dr. Howe, is to abandon the sign language to a considerable extent, and to encourage as far as possible the education of the deaf in day schools. This tends to assimilate them with the ordinary population, and their defect is more likely to prove a bar to marriage than under the conditions of boarding-schools. In general it may be said that the managers of charitable institutions do not sufficiently discourage marriage among the dependent and defective classes. The duty of being childless is not one they try to impose upon dependents.

In 1893 Ritchie suggested as a possible beginning of the work of making the definition of a *mésalliance* scientific, that all persons receiving a marriage license should be required to present a medical certificate giving evidence of freedom from a hereditary tendency to insanity.¹ Since then several states have passed such laws. In 1899 Michigan forbade the marriage of insane and idiotic persons and

¹ Ritchie, "Pauperism," etc.

persons afflicted with syphilis and gonorrhœa and not cured. The law of Connecticut, passed in 1902, forbids the marriage of epileptics and imbeciles under a penalty of three years' imprisonment, with a penalty for other persons aiding such a marriage, and forbids illegitimate intercourse with a defective woman under equally heavy penalties. Indiana also forbids the issuance of a license not only to imbeciles and insane, but also to indigents of five years' standing.¹

Members of the medical profession frequently recommend castration as a punishment for certain offences, and as a method of treatment for "sexual perverts." Dr. Kerlin, in addressing the Association of Medical Officers of Institutions for the Feeble-minded, said: —

"While considering the help that advanced surgery is to give us, I will refer to a conviction that I have, that life-long salutary results to many of our boys and girls would be realized if before adolescence the procreative organs were removed. My experience extends to only a single case to confirm this conviction; but when I consider the great benefit that this young woman has received, the entire arrest of an epileptic tendency, as well as the removal of inordinate desires which made her an offence to the community; when I see the tranquil, well-ordered life she is leading, her usefulness and industry in the circle in which she moves, and know that surgery has been her salvation from vice and degradation, I am deeply thankful to the benevolent lady whose loyalty to science and comprehensive charity made this operation possible." "Whose state," he asks further on, "shall be the first to legalize oöphorectomy and orchitomia for the relief and cure of radical depravity?"²

Indiana appears to have been the first state to apply this remedy. In 1901 a law was passed providing that upon the recommendation of certain physicians the operation necessary to sterilization should be performed upon criminals adjudged to be unfit to procreate. Dr. H. C. Sharp of the Indiana Reformatory reports that besides six prisoners

¹ Ely, "Evolution of Industrial Society," p. 170 ff.; N. C. C., 1905, p. 594.

² Report, 1892, pp. 277-278; see also Barr, "Mental Defectives."

operated upon under the authority of the law, two hundred and seventeen others were so treated at their own request.¹

The proposal of a law in Pennsylvania providing for the asexualization of imbeciles and idiots who are dependent inmates of a state institution, brought out a vigorous protest from Alexander Johnson, an authority on the care of the feeble-minded. Mr. Johnson urges the sanctity of the individual human being and argues that, if sterilized, the most powerful incentive to their proper care would be removed. Segregation, he thinks, the better way: —

“It has far wider possibilities than the way of surgery since it may be applied, as that could not or at present would not be, to the many cases on the border line between imbecility and normality, for it is not necessarily final in any case. And it is precisely the border-line cases, as every institution man knows, for whom, if for any, surgery might be desirable. Besides segregation will still be necessary, no matter how much the knife may be used. It is only by the chloroform method that we may escape the burden of the care of these men and women children, the idiots and the imbeciles. So that method would be the next logical step.”²

Whenever, as in the cases cited, it appears that these operations can be performed with benefit to the individual, public opinion will doubtless sanction them; and the result of such experimentation may ultimately be to extend their use very widely in the treatment of the diseased and criminal classes. To argue for the introduction of such methods on grounds of social selfishness will not be the best way to hasten their introduction.

Pending such experimentation, the sterilizing of the essentially unfit who may be dependents seems likely to be carried forward by the humaner methods of sequestration and of custodial care through life. The permanent isolation of the essentially unfit has commended itself to men as

¹ N. C. C., 1905, p. 594; Proceedings American Prison Association, 1907; “Charities,” vol. xviii., 1907, No. 26, p. 762.

² “Charities,” vol. xiii., pp. 595-596.

different as Ruskin and General Booth, and already the movement to establish these philanthropic monasteries and nunneries for the feeble-minded is becoming the substitute for natural selection. The prevention of the marriage of the unfit, the sterilization of criminals, and the custodial care of the imbecile are initial steps in prevention — that the unfit may cease to be produced and to produce. As Cummings puts it: from him that hath not shall be taken away the power of degrading himself and society. Certain it is, that while charity may not cease to shield the children of misfortune, it must, to an ever increasing extent, reckon with the laws of heredity, and do what it can to check the spreading curse of race deterioration. The desire to prevent suffering must extend to the desire to prevent the suffering of unborn generations.

CHAPTER II.

CAUSES OF POVERTY.

THE combined result of the rise of humanitarianism, the science of political economy, and the evolutionary theory, was a new interest in the causes of dependence. Neither philosophers nor charity workers were satisfied to accept any longer the misused dictum, "The poor ye have always with you," as an excuse for merely palliative measures in dealing with them, nor with the current explanations of their misery. The students of the social sciences who have sought to ascertain the causes of poverty have employed three tolerably distinct methods. First, there are those deductive or philosophical thinkers who, from the well-known facts of social organization, have sought to deduce the causes tending to poverty, as a systematic writer on pathology seeks to set forth the inherent characteristics of the bodily organism which tend to make disease likely or inevitable. Secondly, there are those who make an inductive study of concrete masses of pauperism, usually separating the mass into its individual units, seeking to ascertain in a large number of particular cases what causes have operated to bring about destitution. This work resembles that of the practising physician, endeavoring to ascertain the causes of sickness by a careful diagnosis of the cases under his care. Thirdly, there are those who study the classes not yet pauperized, to determine by induction what forces are tending to crowd individuals downward across the pauper line, as the health officer of a city might undertake, by an examination of the drainage system or an analysis of the water or

food supply, to ascertain the causes of disease in a given locality.

Examples of the philosophical or deductive method are found in the writings of men like Malthus, or Karl Marx, or Henry George, who, while they describe actual conditions at great length, still make the philosophical reasoning which is the heart of their work antecedent to their facts. Their facts are given by way of illustration rather than of proof. Writers of this class are prone to think that they can find some single underlying cause of all the misery and destitution that exist. The three names just mentioned recall three explanations of poverty, each alleged to be universal, and the three mutually exclusive. Malthus was too wise a man to put forth his principle of population as an all-sufficient explanation of distress; but his followers have not been so wise. In the writings of certain economists it has been a fundamental thought that poverty exists mainly, if not entirely, because population tends to increase faster than food supply. All other causes are held to contribute to this, or to be derived from this. The pressure of population against the means of subsistence is held to guarantee that there shall always be a vast number of persons who can just manage to live miserably. A rise of wages will promote early marriages and rapid increase among laborers, until population is again checked by overcrowding and consequent misery and death. So wise a man as John Stuart Mill allowed his economic philosophy to be overshadowed by this idea.

Henry George ridiculed the Malthusian explanation of poverty, and offered an all-sufficient explanation of his own, which is, substantially, that poverty exists, on the one hand, because the landlord receives in rent so large a share of the annual product; on the other, because private property in land encourages the withholding of natural resources from use, the owners waiting to obtain an unearned increment.

Since the owner of land receives wealth without labor to an increasing extent with the development of society, there must be an increasing number of those who labor but receive little or nothing.

Opposed to both these explanations of the existence of poverty is that of the socialists, who follow for the most part Karl Marx's analysis of capitalistic production. Reduced to a sentence by Dr. Aveling, this explanation of poverty may be stated by saying that labor is "paid for, but not paid." The consumer pays enough for the product to remunerate the laborer, but the capitalist retains all except what will barely suffice to keep the laborer alive.

No one who has studied carefully modern industrial society can doubt that each one of these causes may produce a very considerable amount of destitution. But no one of them, nor all three of them together, can be taken as an adequate explanation of the existence of poverty. Professor Seligman states their fundamental defects in the following paragraph:—

"Modern poverty is bound up with the facts of modern economic life, and modern economic life is a complex product. To select any characteristic feature of the present industrial system and to single it out as responsible for poverty is naïve, but worthless. The Malthusian seizes upon redundant population, the communist upon private property, the socialist upon property in means of production, the single taxer upon property in land, the coöperator upon competition, the anarchist upon government, the anti-optionist upon speculation, the currency reformer upon metallic money, and so on. They all forget that widespread poverty has existed in the absence of each one of these alleged causes. Density of population, private property, competition, government, speculation, and money have each been absent at various stages of history without exempting society from the curse of poverty. Each stage has had a poverty of its own. The causes of poverty are as complex as the causes of civilization and the growth of wealth itself."¹

¹ Seligman, "Principles of Economics," p. 591.

The explanations of poverty offered by theology are equally unsatisfactory. Ministers frequently inform us that all poverty comes primarily from vice and immorality, — “Seek ye first the kingdom of God and his righteousness; and all these things shall be added unto you.” They quote David as saying, “I have been young, and now am old; yet have I not seen the righteous forsaken, nor his seed begging bread.” The temperance lecturer specializes upon the preacher’s theory, and assures us that ninety-nine per cent of all poverty comes from the abuse of intoxicants. The propagandist of the White Cross League tells us that it is undoubtedly the abuse of the sexual nature that leads to most of the social degradation and consequent poverty of our times. These different students of social science, if such they may be called, all say that what men need to make them prosperous is moral reformation or spiritual regeneration.

To illustrate the complexity of the conditions of poverty more concretely: Suppose a second Robinson Crusoe on a desert island under exactly the same material conditions as the friend of our childhood; suppose he spent his time in distilling some kind of liquor, and subsequently getting drunk; suppose he allowed his mind to wander in dreamy and enervating revery upon debasing subjects; suppose that in consequence of these habits he neglected his work, did not plant his crops at the right time, and failed to catch fish when they were plentiful. Manifestly he would become poor and miserable, might become diseased from having insufficient food, and finally die in abject want. Poverty in such a suppositious case could not be traced to the fact that an employer had cheated the laborer of wages honestly earned, or to the fact that a landlord had robbed him by exacting rent, nor could it be traced to an excessive increase of population. Moreover, if Crusoe No. 2 had simply lacked judgment or skill, he might have become poor, although thoroughly pious and moral. If he had built a canoe that

would not float, or a cave that crumbled in and injured him, or constructed a summer-house that he did not need, or had not the ingenuity to devise tools for his varied purposes, he might have failed to secure the necessaries of life, and have died in miserable destitution.

Now, if all these various causes are conceivably operative in the case of an isolated person, it is manifest that in actual industrial society as now organized, where the individual suffers not only from his own mistakes and defects, but also from the mistakes and defects of a large number of other people, the causes of destitution must be indefinitely numerous and complicated; and the man who says that he has found one all-embracing cause discredits himself as promptly as the physician who should announce that he had found a single universal and all-sufficient explanation of bodily disease.

The second method, the inductive study of concrete masses of dependents, or case-counting, as it may be called, grew naturally out of contact with relief work. Although it has been in use for twenty years in this country, it must be acknowledged that it has not yielded as comprehensive results as were first expected of it, yet within its somewhat narrow scope those results are surprisingly uniform and definite. When allowances are made for differences of nationality and age constitution in the population, for locality as between city and country, and for variations between incipient and chronic dependence, certain immediate causes recur in case schedules in proportions which can be almost predicted by the trained student and charity worker.

Its limitations as a method suggest themselves, if we reflect on the analogy of the physician standing by the sick-bed, and trying to learn the cause of the disease merely from an examination of the patient. He may learn the immediate or exciting cause or causes of sickness, but back of these are the remoter causes which can only be learned by other methods of investigation. The competent physi-

cian will look for these in the hereditary constitution of the patient, or in bad conditions of public sanitation or personal hygiene, or in exposure to contagion, or in the revelations of bacteriology, or in unhealthy climate or occupation. But however thorough, he will scarcely be able to go farther afield than this to ascertain those ultimate economic and social conditions which may account for the patient's lack of physical resistance to disease. This will become clear if we glance at the following analysis of the causes of poverty. It is not intended to be complete, but only to give in general outline a map of the field.

ANALYSIS OF THE CAUSES OF POVERTY.

SUBJECTIVE.	Characteristics.	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Undervitalization and indolence. 2. Lubricity. 3. Specific disease. 4. Lack of judgment. 5. Unhealthy appetite.
	Habits producing and produced by the above.	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Shiftlessness. 2. Self-abuse and sexual excess. 3. Abuse of stimulants and narcotics. 4. Unhealthy diet. 5. Disregard of family ties.
OBJECTIVE.		<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Inadequate natural resources. 2. Bad climatic conditions. 3. Defective sanitation, etc. 4. Evil associations and surroundings. 5. Defective legislation and defective judicial and punitive machinery. 6. Misdirected or inadequate education.
	7. Bad industrial conditions.	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> a. Variations in value of money. b. Changes in trade. c. Excessive or ill-managed taxation. d. Emergencies unprovided for. e. Undue power of class over class. f. Immobility of labor. g. Inadequate wages and irregular employment.
		<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 8. Unwise philanthropy.

A statistical analysis of cases gives more light concerning the subjective causes of poverty than the objective causes, for in dealing with individuals their character is apt to be more studied than their environment. But even when environment is the primary cause of poverty, the immediate cause or coördinate result is often deterioration of character. As sickness is more obvious than bad sanitation, so is laziness than a malarial atmosphere, inefficiency than a defective educational system. One who attempts the analysis of cases is apt to be confused by the fact that under the operation of exactly similar general causes some families are destitute and some are not. One man is able to secure an adequate income under the most adverse circumstances — unhealthy climate, bad housing, unjust taxation, or lack of opportunities for education. Another man, under exactly the same conditions, will become destitute, and the observer must put down as the final and determining cause some defect in physique or character. Untrained charity workers who come immediately in contact with the poor are very prone to take short-sighted views of the causes of poverty. On the other hand, those who study the question from a philosophical standpoint are apt to lay too much stress on a single factor of environment; while a third class, chiefly composed of philanthropists living among the poor, arraign the organization of society as tending to submerge below the poverty line those who have no power to defend themselves. The extreme opposition of the different views is well illustrated by certain recent writers. Mrs. Bosanquet declares, "A man's circumstances depend upon what he himself is," and quotes Professor William James's phrase, "we are spinning our own fates," to support her contention that the economic position of a class depends upon the moral qualities of the individuals. Thomas W. Mackay regards it as an act of "unpardonable scepticism" to assume that whole classes

are inflicted with an inherent incapacity for the honorable interdependence of a life of contract and exchange, and points to the increasing reward of labor and the increasing purchasing power of its reward.

With an emphasis no less powerful, Robert Hunter places the responsibility for dependence upon environment: —

“ It is obvious to inquiring persons that society, as a result of its industries, its tenements, its policy of almost unrestricted immigration, and its system of education, ill-adapted in so many ways to the needs of the people, causes a large part of the poverty which exists among us. For instance, the aged, after years of honest and exacting toil, may find themselves at last thrown out of work, propertyless, and sometimes penniless. Dangerous trades cripple the bodies and undermine the health of large numbers of workmen, and almost unrestricted immigration helps to increase an already too intense competition for wages in the underpaid, unskilled trades, with the result that the whole mass is more or less in poverty all the time, and a certain percentage finds it necessary actually to apply periodically for charitable relief. The greed for profits on the part of the owners of tenement-house property has so interfered with the enactment and enforcement of laws establishing certain minimum sanitary standards that a considerable number of working people have their labor power diminished or destroyed by tuberculosis and other diseases. It would be impossible to question the responsibility of society for such common and widespread causes of poverty. After the economic independence has been destroyed, so-called charity undermines the character of the poor either by private alms or by public outdoor relief.”¹

Each of these types of observers has, indeed, seized upon a portion of the truth; the questions of character are very far from insignificant, but so long as it is impossible to measure accurately all the forces within and without the individual which tend to push him above or below the line of economic independence, it will be necessary to study the combined operation of character, circumstance, and environment in accounting for his failure.

The third and latest method of studying the causes of

¹ Hunter, “ Poverty,” pp. 66-67.

poverty is also statistical, but on a much broader basis than the classification of dependents. Beginning with the comprehensive work of Charles Booth in London, it has been applied to the city of York, England, by Rowntree; more recently to the anthracite coal regions of Pennsylvania by Peter Roberts, and to a district of New York City by Mrs. Louise Boland More. Its essential feature is the comparative study of a whole section of population in order to ascertain the proportion of the poor and the conditions of their life which tend to drive them into a position of dependence. To this class of studies belongs the report of 1903 of the United States Bureau of Labor on the Cost of Living and many other labor reports, the investigations of occupational morbidity and mortality, and nearly all the first-hand descriptions of the industrial strata of society.

It is evident that such a method has a breadth and perspective which give it superior value; but it, too, has its pitfalls and limitations. If pursued on a scale large enough to give a true picture of a representative section of the population, it is liable to lack the intimate personal knowledge of individuals without which all statistics may become misleading. If pursued on a small scale, intensively, by workers familiar with the people themselves, it may be distorted by local peculiarities and by the bias of the investigator. Returning once more to the analogy of medical practice: in the first case, the physician is in the position of a health officer gathering information for the determination of birth and death rates and for the prevention of epidemic diseases; in the second, he is a specialist in danger of diagnosing all ailments as partaking of the characteristics of his specialty.

As the case-counting method tends to emphasize unduly the subjective and immediate causes, so the pictorial method is apt to bring out the industrial and environmental causes; but all these methods, beginning with the inductive, have had a natural historical sequence. The early social phi-

losophers sketched from afar some conspicuous feature of the field; the relief workers fixed their attention upon the miserable in need and their obvious characteristics; the latest comers are trying to present a complete picture of the whole territory. With the contribution of each observer, the details of the picture are becoming more accurate as well as complete; with the result that, on the one hand, the treatment of dependents is becoming more adequate and sympathetic, while, on the other, all philanthropists alike are uniting in a concerted attack upon those conditions of society which make dependence inevitable.

Turning from the discussion of the various methods of ascertaining the causes of poverty, we take up the consideration of the investigations conducted on the case-counting principle. The conclusions from these will vary widely according to the particular class of destitute persons under observation. Professor Henderson, after enumerating four general classes of dependents, — dependent children, those receiving partial relief in their homes, those receiving institutional relief, and the abnormal and defective classes, — remarks that a general average of the grand totals of the causes of poverty of these classes would not only be of no value, but would be positively misleading, as among these different classes a principal cause of poverty would vary widely, and in particular instances might not exist at all. The first precaution, therefore, in drawing conclusions from charity cases, as in every other kind of statistics, is to make sure that the classes compared are fairly comparable.

But when this difficulty is overcome, a greater one arises — the difficulty of deciding what is the principal cause of dependence in particular cases. A man is drunk and breaks his leg; is the cause of his helplessness accident or drink? When this question was submitted to a group of charity organization workers, it was promptly answered by two of them; but their answers were different. A man is out of

work because he is lazy and inefficient; one has to know him quite well before one can be sure that laziness is the cause. An experienced charity agent asked in conference how far back it was necessary to go to determine the principal cause in the following instances: —

“I have a widow and six children; her husband fell off a wagon when drunk and was killed; should I put down drunkenness as the cause? I have a case of a boy who received no proper training because his father was a drunkard; shall I put that poverty to drunkenness? I have a case of a family where four girls, one after the other, died of consumption, and I believe the cause to be that they had a drunken father who did not feed them, and who left them to live in improper conditions, but who died ten years ago. Shall I say that the cause in that case is drunkenness or sickness?”¹

Among thousands of dependants it has been found that there are very few whose destitution resulted from a single cause. In order to represent the variety and relative proportions of the factors leading to pauperism, several ways of combining principal and subsidiary causes have been devised. Charles Booth, in his study of the pauperism of Stepney and St. Pancras, tabulated the contributory with the principal causes; and as indicating the results to be got from this method, his table is given on the opposite page.

In this table sickness, which operated as a principal cause in 26 per cent of all cases, was a contributory cause in 13 per cent more; drink, which accounted in the first place for the dependence of 12.6 per cent, aggravated the situation of 13 per cent more. In short, after a survey of the table, it can readily be believed that some, as Mr. Booth says, have been the foot-ball of all the causes in the list.

Professor Mayo-Smith tabulated 884 applicants of the New York Charity Organization Society for the year 1897 in a similar way, but with less striking results. At the suggestion of Professor Warner a quantitative method was

¹ See discussion, N. C. C., 1899, pp. 374-375.

CAUSES OF POVERTY.

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TABLE I.

PRINCIPAL CAUSES OF PAUPERISM AT STEPNEY.

(Adapted from Booth's "Pauperism and the Endowment of Old Age," p. 10.)

PRINCIPAL OR OBVIOUS CAUSES.	MALES.	FEMALES.	TOTAL.	PER CENT.	CONTRIBUTORY CAUSES.			
					DRINK.	PAUPER ASSO. AND HEREDITY.	SICKNESS.	OLD AGE.
1. Drink	53	27	80	12.6		23	11	11
2. Immorality	6	10	16	2.5	3	3	3	1
3. Laziness	10	■	12	1.9	6	5	1	3
4. Incapacity, Temper, etc.	17	7	24	3.8	4	5	2	6
5. Extravagance	7	1	8	1.3	4	2		3
6. Lack of Work or Trade Misfortune	26	2	28	4.4	4		5	13
7. Accident	26	5	30	4.7	4	2	1	14
8. Death of Husband		26	26	4.1	■	2	10	8
9. Desertion		3	3	.5	3		1	1
10. Mental Derangement	3	8	11	1.7	1	2		2
11. Sicknes	98	71	169	26.7	24	38	5	41
12. Old Age	113	95	208	32.8	22	18	■	
13. Pauper Assoc. and Heredity	6	1	7	1.1	1		2	2
14. Other Causes	9	3	12	1.9	6	6	2	2
Total Number	373	261	634	100	85	106	87	107
Per cent of Total Cases					13.0	16.0	13.0	16.0

TABLE II.

CAUSES OF PAUPERISM OF 228 ALMSHOUSE WOMEN BY NATIVITY.*

	UNITED STATES.		ENGLAND.		IRELAND.		GERMANY.		OTHER COUNTRIES.		TOTAL.	
	Units.	Per Cent.	Units.	Per Cent.	Units.	Per Cent.	Units.		Units.		Per Cent.	
1. Intemperance	17	4.4	25	14.7	235	17.4	7		22		13.4	
2. Immorality	7	1.9	7	4.1	60	4.5	2		10		3.8	
3. Shiftlessness & Inefficiency	30	7.9	12	7.1	62	4.6	5				4.8	
4. Neglect by Relatives . .	8	2.1			5	.4					.6	
5. No Support	6	1.3	10	5.9	107	7.9			16		6.0	
6. Sickness	8	2.1	5	2.9	27	2.0			6		1.9	
7. Mental Deficiency . .					49	3.7	7		10		2.9	
8. Insanity	26	6.8	11	6.5	72	5.3	11		10		5.7	
9. Temper	26	6.6	12	7.1	50	3.7	3		80		6.3	
10. Old Age	10	2.6			34	2.5			13		2.6	
11. Other Causes	55	14.5	20	11.8	151	11.2	24		62		13.7	
Total	6	1.6	3	1.2	26	1.9	1		10		1.9	
Number of Cases	22	5.8			30	2.2			25		3.4	
	13	3.4	5	2.9	13	.9	5		5		1.8	
	35	9.2	15	8.8	86	6.4	15		10		7.1	
	5	1.3			5	.4					.4	
			8	4.7	30	2.2					1.7	
	7	1.8	3	1.8	21	1.6	2				1.5	
	22	5.8	5	2.9	112	8.3	15		20		8.1	
	7	1.9	6	2.9	98	7.3	10		13		6.8	
	69	18.2	10	5.9	67	4.9					6.4	
	3	.8	16	8.9	10	.7	8				1.3	
Total	380	100.0	170	100.0	1350	100.0	110		270		100.0	
Number of Cases	33		17		135		11		27		228.0	

* Cookidge, M. E. (Smith), Am. Statist. Assoc. V. IV, 1903.

† P. = Principal; C. = Contributory.

adopted by Mrs. Coolidge in Table II.¹ The sum of the causes in each case was assumed to be 10. The principal cause might count for 5 or more units, while the contributory causes might be 5 or less; as, for instance, case 48, principal cause sickness 5, contributory causes neglect by relatives 3, old age 2.

Although this method undoubtedly presented the proportion of each influence with somewhat greater accuracy, it was found to be too complicated for general use in the Charity Organization Societies.

A third source of error in charity statistics is the variation between the cause of distress as given by the applicant and the causes afterward registered by the relieving agents. This discrepancy is illustrated by the following tabulation of 800 cases in New York City.

TABLE III.
ALLEGED AND TRUE CAUSES OF POVERTY.
800 cases, C. O. S., New York, 1896-1897.*

	LACK OF EM- PLOYMENT.	SICKNESS.	INTEMPER- ANCE.	SHIFTLESS- NESS.	NO REAL NEED.	VARIOUS OTHERS.
Cause alleged by Applicant . .	313	222	25			240
Cause as determined later by Charity Agents	184	164	166	101	121	64

* Lindsay, N. O. C., 1899, p. 872.

The alleged cause is often merely a measure of the ability of the applicant to gauge the intelligence of the charity agent, but it is of some slight value in throwing light upon the character of the applicant.

¹ The same method was later adopted by A. F. Simons and C. F. Weller, *Am. Jour. of Soc.*, March, 1898.

After making all possible allowance for the personal equation of the applicant and the investigator, and for the limitations and inconclusiveness of figures alone, they have nevertheless a considerable value as representing the judgments of those who are studying dependence at first hand. When it has been found that a great number of investigators, at different times, in different places, have reached conclusions which, while varying in many and often inexplicable ways, are yet in agreement on certain points, it must be concluded that the figures to some extent reflect actual conditions. Without pressing these conclusions too far, and constantly remembering that statistics are only the formal skeleton of truth, we may proceed to discuss what results have been reached by the case-counting method in the study of dependence.

TABLE IV.*
CAUSES OF POVERTY IN BUFFALO.

	TOTAL. 1878-1887.	PER CENT.
Lack of Employment	1873	30.2
Sickness	1268	20.5
Accident	208	3.4
Insanity of Breadwinner	51	.8
Insufficient Earnings	451	7.3
No Male Support	397	6.4
Imprisonment of Bread-winner	108	1.7
Intemperance	700	11.3
Shiftlessness	440	7.1
Physical Defects	525	8.4
Cause Undetermined	176	2.9
Total Number of Cases	6197	100.0

* Condensed from Table III., p. 83, 1st ed., "American Charities."

Although the causes of pauperism had been enumerated and discussed in occasional reports of charitable societies,¹ the first systematic investigation and tabulation of results through a term of years appears to have been made by the Charity Organization Society of Buffalo, New York. The table (see p. 46) is interesting as showing that the more obvious causes, i.e. sickness, lack of employment, intemperance, and shiftlessness, stood in almost the same order and proportion in 1887 as they appear in the Charity Organization Society statistics of a later time.

The systematic registration of decisions in large numbers of cases brought out certain conclusions as to the general needs of applicants for relief. Table V. shows decisions averaged for a total of 42,031 cases between 1887 and 1900.

TABLE V.
DECISIONS IN CASES OF APPLICANTS FOR RELIEF.*

SHOULD HAVE	C. O. S. 1887.	BALTIMORE, BOSTON, NEW YORK, AVERAGE, 1891-1892.	NEW YORK C. O. S. 1897-1900.
	27,961 CASES.	3294 CASES.	5776 CASES.
	PER CENT.	PER CENT.	PER CENT.
Continuous Relief (not Indoor)	10.3	4.0	1.2
Intermittent Relief (not Indoor)		2.9	.7
Temporary Relief (not Indoor)	26.6	20.6	28.2
Work rather than Relief . . .	40.4	35.1	32.3
Indoor Relief		11.6	8.9
Transportation		3.6	1.8
Visitation and Advice only . .		7.4	6.6
Discipline		5.8	4.4
No Relief	22.7	9.0	15.9
	100.0	100.0	100.0

* Columns 1 and 2 from Warner's "American Charities," 1st ed., pp. 29-32. Column 3, N.Y. C. O. S. Reports, 1897-1900.

¹ Devine, "Principles of Relief," pp. 278-293, Tenth Report, New York State Board of Charities, 1877.

The table shows that approximately one-third of all applicants needed work rather than relief, and nearly another third needed intermittent or temporary relief only, while almost one-fifth needed either "discipline" or no relief at all. Charles D. Kellogg of the New York Charity Organization Society, when submitting a report on 27,961 cases in 1887 (column 1) to the National Conference of Charities and Corrections, stated that the logical deduction from these facts was that two-thirds of the real or simulated destitution could be wiped out by a more perfect adjustment of the supply and demand for labor, and a more enlightened police administration. The table further indicates that charity organization societies were dealing largely then as now, not with chronic pauperism, but with those on the verge of dependence.

The question most commonly in the minds of the inexperienced students of this subject is whether dependence is a misfortune or a fault. In the first edition of this book Professor Warner compiled an elaborate table from English, German, and American sources, classifying the causes of poverty under two main heads as indicating misconduct or misfortune. A table condensed from the original, so as to show its essential features, is given on pp. 50, 51.

The unsatisfactoriness of the table arises in part from the fact that the groups of cases are not fairly comparable. The American cases were applicants for relief, the English were inmates of institutions for the chronic and aged poor, and the German comprised all cases of public relief. The trained charity worker would expect, therefore, that drink and matters of employment would rise high in American cases and fall among inmates of European institutions, and the expectation is to a certain extent fulfilled. The very low per cent for drink in Germany (1.3) is balanced partly by the high per cent for sickness (45.8), for Böhmert explains that intemperance was a predisposing cause in many cases

where the immediate cause set down was lack of work, accident, imprisonment, sickness, or abandonment. The wide variation in the totals for misconduct and misfortune — from 12 per cent to 42 per cent — indicates the extreme differences of judgment among charity agents as to the responsibility of the individual for his own dependence.

This is only another phase of the difficulty of deciding between principal and contributory causes. For instance, back of sickness may be either misconduct or misfortune; the imprisonment of the breadwinner indicates misconduct on his part, but may be only misfortune on the part of his wife and children who apply for relief; similar confusion arises in cases of children abandoned and old persons neglected by relatives. Professor Warner stated that the table was compiled only "in deference to popular inquiry," and declared his own opinion that its value consisted chiefly "in showing how little it was worth." It has, however, a certain historical importance as showing the decline of a tendency which was once very strong among charity workers to try to apportion carefully the degree of moral blame of the individual applicant for relief.

Although the results of the table are wholly negative as regards the determination of misconduct or misfortune, when stripped of unessential details and insignificant variations, it shows clearly that in a large body of applicants for relief in American cities, certain immediate causes of poverty tend to recur in very nearly the same order and proportion for a term of years. Among such dependents from 25 to 35 per cent will ask for relief because of physical and mental incapacity, 20 to 30 per cent because of lack of or unsatisfactory employment, and 20 to 25 per cent because of defects of character. The fact that certain specific causes, especially drink, vary widely in the different cities does not invalidate this deduction. Intemperance, of all the list of causes, is the one most likely to be affected by the personal

TABLE VI.*

CAUSES OF POVERTY. — *Misconduct vs. Misfortune.*

Locality	Baltimore	Boston	Buffalo
Report of	C. O. S.	A. C.	C. O. S.
Number of Cases	1385	2083	8235
Year	1890-2	1890-2	1878-92
CAUSES.	PER CENT.	PER CENT.	PER CENT.
Drink	8.0	20.5	7.8
Immorality . . . . .	. . . .	. . . .	. . . .
Shiftlessness and Inefficiency	13.0	7.2	4.8
Crime and Dishonesty . . . . .	.8	1.4	. . . .
Roving Disposition	1.4	.8	. . . .
Total Misconduct	23.2	29.9	12.1
Imprisonment of Breadwinner . . . .	.4	1.6	2.0
Orphans and Abandoned Children . .	.9	.7	. . . .
Neglect by Relatives	1.7	.9	. . . .
No Male Support	4.5	6.0	13.8
Total — No Normal Support	7.5	9.2	15.8
Lack of Employment	12.5	14.2	27.5
Insufficient Employment	8.5	5.5	1.7
Poorly Paid Employment	5.0	.9	6.0
Unhealthy and Dangerous Employment	.3	.4	. . . .
Total — Employment	26.3	21.0	35.2
Ignorance of English . . . . .	.4	.8	. . . .
Accident	4.0	2.9	4.6
Sickness or Death in Family	20.2	24.0	24.6
Physical Defects	6.0	2.4	5.3
Insanity . . . . .	.8	.6	.9
Old Age	6.0	4.1	. . . .
Total — Personal Capacity	37.4	34.8	35.4
Total Misfortune	71.2	65.0	86.4
Unclassified or Unknown	5.6	5.1	1.5

* Condensed from Table IV., p. 86, 1st ed. of Warner's "American Charities."

TABLE VI. (Continued).

CAUSES OF POVERTY. — *Misconduct vs. Misfortune.*

Cincinnati	New York	Stepney	St. Pancras	76 German Cities	Total
A. C.	C. O. S.	Booth	Booth	Böhmert	
4844	1412	634	736	95,845	
1890-92	1891	1892	1892	1886	Average
PER CENT.	PER CENT.	PER CENT.	PER CENT.	PER CENT.	PER CENT.
11.1	10.7	12.6	21.9	1.3	11.6
. . .	. . .	2.5	6.9	. . .	. . .
12.9	7.2	7.0	13.4	. . .	9.2
1.9	1.4	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
5.3	3.3	. . .	. . .	1.4	. . .
31.2	22.6	22.1	42.2	2.7	23.2
.7	.6	. . .	. . .	1.7	. . .
1.0	.1	. . .	. . .	.6	. . .
.8	.5	. . .	. . .	.6	. . .
7.1	7.2	4.6	2.8	2.5	. . .
9.6	8.4	4.6	2.8	10.4	8.5
10.5	29.0	4.4	2.2	12.5	. . .
7.2	6.1	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
4.2	2.5	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
.5	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
22.4	37.6	4.4	2.2	12.5	20.8
.8	.4	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
2.3	3.3	4.7	2.6	1.1	. . .
15.0	18.5	26.7	20.7	45.8	24.4
2.5	2.7	. . .	. . .	2.4	. . .
.6	.7	1.7	4.3	3.4	. . .
3.0	3.3	32.8	23.4	15.8	. . .
24.2	28.9	64.9	51.0	68.5	43.1
56.2	74.9	74.0	56.0	91.4	71.0
12.6	2.5	4.0	1.8	5.9	. . .

bias of the relief agent, and about which there is a wide difference of opinion as to whether it is a true cause—in the sense of moral responsibility—or merely a symptom. It exhibits more than any other cause the limitations of the case-counting method.

The fact that sickness, unemployment, and moral defect tend to recur in a definite order and proportion is more clearly shown in Table VII., in which 31,637 cases are arranged and averaged in the same way as in Table VI. and compared with Professor Warner's averages from 7225 cases of the same class.

We notice first that all causes definitely reflecting the character of the individual vary only between 23.3 and 25.1. The most important of these, drink, averages 14.6, going as low as 7.2 in Baltimore and as high as 21.7 in Boston. Nearly, but not quite so important, is shiftlessness and inefficiency; it ranges between the relatively narrow limits of 6.1 and 9.5. The lack of normal support has, too, a tolerably constant influence of 6.3 to 8.3.

The causes grouped under the heading "matters of employment" account for a third of the destitution dealt with by American societies. The percentage for Boston is lowest and for New York highest, but the results for New York show the effect of the five years, 1893–1898, following the panic, which are only partially covered by the figures for Boston and Baltimore.

Under incapacity, insanity and physical defect exert a minor but quite constant influence. The small though constant percentage attributable to old age is probably due to the fact that these societies are for the most part dealing with people who are still struggling against pauperism, or are at any rate still mixed with the ordinary population of the cities where they live.

So far as Table VI. and Table VII. show, the most constant causes of poverty, everywhere, at all times, and according

TABLE VII.—CAUSES OF POVERTY: CHARITY ORGANIZATION SOCIETY RECORDS.

CITY.	NEW YORK.	BOSTON.	BALTIMORE.	AVERAGE NEW YORK, BOSTON, BALTIMORE.	AVERAGE OF BALTIMORE, NEW YORK, NEW HAVEN, BOSTON.	AVERAGES OF GROUPS.
Year.	1888-1898.	1888-1898.	1888-1898.	1889 P. Lindsay.*	1881-1892. Warner.†	
Drink	12.3	21.7	7.2	13.7	15.3	
Shiftlessness and Inefficiency	6.1	6.8	9.5	7.5	7.5	
Other Moral Defects	1.7	2.2	2.3	2.1	2.3	
Total—Character				23.3	25.1	24.2
No Male Support	5.2	5.2	4.7	5.0	4.3	
Lack of Other Normal Support	1.2	3.6	3.0	3.6	2.0	
Total—Support				8.6	6.3	7.4
Lack of Employment	33.6	15.1	22.0	23.5	23.2	
Insufficient Employment	10.4	4.7	9.3	8.1	6.5	
Poorly Paid, etc.	2.9	1.0	6.2	3.3	1.9	
Total—Employment				34.9	31.6	33.2
Sickness and Death in Family	17.6	26.0	19.8	21.1	22.3	
Insanity and Physical Defects	2.9	3.5	6.0	4.1	4.5	
Old Age	3.3	3.8	4.6	3.9	4.0	
Other Incapacity	2.6	3.4	3.7	3.2	3.3	
Total Incapacity				32.3	36.1	34.2
Unclassified or Unknown	1.5	5.4	4.4	3.7	2.9	
Number of Cases	18,100	7,142	11,001		7,225	38,862

* Condensed and rearranged from table collated by Professor S. M. Lindsay in N. C. C., 1899, p. 871, which is reprinted in Henderson, D. D. D., pp. 858-859.

† Taken from Table VIII., Warner's "American Charities," 1st ed.

to all investigators, are sickness and unemployment. The percentage of sickness falls to 17.6 in New York and reaches 26.0 in Boston — the average is 22. This is one of the most significant results from these tables. It was not anticipated by the author when the collection of the statistics began; but it has been confirmed and reconfirmed, not only by Professor Lindsay's later table, but in so many other ways, that the conclusion seems inevitable that the figures must approximately set forth the facts. Personal acquaintance with the destitute classes has deepened the conviction that most of the causes of poverty result from or result in weakened physical and mental constitution, often merging into actual disease.

TABLE VIII.

13,252 DEPENDENT CHILDREN IN GERMAN CITIES.
(Böhmert, pp. 115-116 and 127-128.)

CAUSE OF POVERTY.	PER CENT.
Orphanage	38.75
Fault of Guardian	25.89
Abandonment by guardian	
Imprisonment of	
Abuse and neglect by	
Laziness of	
Drunkenness of	
Incapacity of Guardian	17.12
Lack of work	
Large family	
Advanced age	
Defect, mental or physical	
Other Causes	18.24
	100.00

Nearly all of the causes named might furthermore be grouped under the general heading "incapacity." Those indicating misconduct can be so classed if we are willing to

include under the term infirmities of character as well as of body. The causes which indicate lack of normal support may also be said to show that the dependents are personally incapable of self-support, and that, through fault or misfortune on the part of their natural guardians, they have been left to themselves. The close relation between defects of character and the failure of support is illustrated by Böhmert's analysis of the causes of dependence in children.

The four causes grouped as "matters of employment" in Table VII. would seem at first to be of a different nature, and to indicate that capable persons may suffer from enforced idleness to the extent of becoming paupers. There are, of course, such instances; but those who have undertaken the work of finding employment for the unemployed, and who are intimately acquainted with the people about whom information is given in these tables, know that most of those out of employment are not capable in any complete sense of the term. They may be able-bodied, but they are not able-minded. They may lack one thing or another, but they almost always lack something; it may be skill, or strength, or judgment, or reliability, or even-temper. Often the incapacity seems to consist in nothing more than a lack of ingenuity, which prevents the person from fitting himself into the industries of the time. Give him a set task requiring little skill, and he will do it gladly. But such set tasks are very few in modern industry, and the result is that the individual is unemployed. If one wanted thoroughly efficient help, male or female, he would hardly expect to find it among the "out-of-works" with whom the charitable societies deal. Back of the cause "lack of work," ordinarily and in ordinary times, will be found some perversion of character, or some limitation of capacity.

The figures most nearly comparable with those of Böhmert and Booth are those of the New York almshouses in 1874-1875 and 1903-1904. In the earlier study the immediate

causes of poverty are given; in that of 1903-1904, merely the classes of almshouse inmates, from which they may be, to some extent, inferred.

TABLE IX.

PAUPERS IN ALMSHOUSES IN NEW YORK IN 1874-1875 AND 1903-1904.

CLASSES OF INMATES.	1874-1875.*		1903-1904.†		% BY GROUPS.
	NUMBER.	%	NUMBER.	%	
Children — Orphans or Abandoned	2080	16.1	578	2.5	
Homeless Women	278	2.2			
Total — No Support		18.3			2.5
Insane	4047	32.1	304	1.3	
Feeble-minded	978	7.7	2232	9.7	
Epileptic	268	2.1	304	1.3	
Blind	803	2.4	617	2.7	
Deaf Mute	29	.2	114	.4	
Paralytic	322	2.5	1208	5.2	
Crippled, Maimed, and Deformed	257	2.0	3482	15.2	
Old and Infirm	2081	16.5	4920	21.4	
Bedridden or Diseased	1258	9.9	356	1.5	
Rheumatic			1879	8.2	
Total — Defect and Disease .		75.4			66.9
Vagrant and Idle	767	6.1			
Able-bodied			4000‡	17.4	
Other and Unknown . . . . .		.2	2872	13.2	
Total in Almshouses	12,614	100.0	22,866§	100.0	

* From Report N. Y. State Board of Charities, 1877.

† From U. S. Census, 1904, "Paupers in Almshouses."

‡ Estimated on basis of percentage for whole North Atlantic Division.

§ Comprises 10,798 enumerated in almshouses, Dec. 31, 1903, plus 12,078 admitted in 1904.

Although these figures are not in all respects comparable, they show that the lack of normal support formerly accounted for 18 per cent of the inmates; but since the removal of

children to other institutions, the percentage has fallen to 2.5. In 1874-1875 75.4 per cent of the inmates were defective or diseased — one-third of them being insane; with the removal of the insane from almshouses to hospitals, the percentage of the incapacitated has fallen to 66.9. The table indicates further how widely the causes of dependence among inmates of institutions vary from those who are only applicants for relief.

Of 51,460 paupers admitted to almshouses in the United States in 1904, 67 per cent were "incapacitated." In such institutions "drink," as a direct cause of poverty, is of slight importance, although it may have been the original cause of much of the incapacity. Of those enumerated in almshouses in 1903 only 15.8 per cent were able-bodied, and of those admitted during 1904, 30 per cent; but a very large proportion of these were unquestionably shiftless, inefficient, and vagrant, unemployable rather than the unemployed.

As the first question popularly asked regarding the causes of poverty would probably be whether poverty indicates misconduct or misfortune, so the second would probably be: What are the indications as to the tendency of different nationalities or races to become poor? For the purpose of finding what answer could be obtained to this question, Table X. was prepared, giving the facts regarding 7225 American cases. Of the Americans, Germans, Colored, Irish, and English there were enough cases in each column to make the percentages tolerably trustworthy; while of the French, Polish, Spanish, Italian, Scandinavian, and other nationalities the numbers were too small to make the relative figures of much value.

As to "drink," we find a general average of 15.28 per cent. The Americans are slightly below, and the English slightly above, this average. The Irish have a larger percentage under this head than any other nationality, 23.62.

TABLE X.

CAUSES OF POVERTY: 7325 AMERICAN CASES, CLASSIFIED BY CAUSES OF POVERTY AND NATIONALITY.

	AMERICAN, 2008 CASES.	GERMAN, 942 CASES.	COLORED, 545 CASES.	IRISH, 1888 CASES.	ENGLISH, 533 CASES.	OTHER NATIONALITIES, 545 CASES.	TOTAL AVERAGE, 7325 CASES.
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Drink	16.14	7.83	6.28	23.62	10.00	8.27	16.28
Shiftlessness and Inefficiency	9.19	7.43	6.55	5.78	7.12	7.00	7.51
Other Moral Defects	8.00	1.53	1.83	1.03	1.14	1.00	.77
No Male Support	4.11	4.27	2.93	5.07	1.10	5.40	4.30
Other Lack of Normal Support . . . . .	.63	.57	1.00	.05	1.05	2.14	.67
Lack of Employment	24.57	17.00	17.42	18.87	14.00	10.70	23.16
Insufficient Employment	6.63	7.60	8.02	11.22	4.74	6.43	6.51
Poorly Paid, etc.	2.09	2.84	1.00	.85	1.42	1.40	1.80
Accident	2.66	3.56	1.46	3.10	2.69	3.40	2.86
Sickness or Death in Family	20.31	17.00	10.63	19.80	23.94	21.24	22.27
Physical Defects	1.40	4.73	6.40	3.49	1.74	4.63	3.69
Insanity . . . . .	.00	.71		.91	1.10	1.12	.85
Old Age	2.81	2.78	4.57	6.97	1.00	1.07	4.00
Unclassified or Unknown	3.16	6.20	2.02	2.06	2.52	7.16	6.16

* Condensed from Table VIII., Warner's "American Charities," 1st ed.

The Germans are far below it, 7.83 per cent, and the Colored still farther, 6.23 per cent. This low percentage has been corroborated by the investigations of John Koren, whose conclusions are : that comparatively few negroes are habitual drunkards ; that intemperance is only accountable for a small part of the negro's poverty ; and that only in exceptional cases are drinking habits a barrier to steady employment.¹

In "shiftlessness and inefficiency" the Americans lead all other well-represented nationalities, having here a percentage of 9.19, as against an average of 7.51. The Irish here fall much below the average, 5.78 per cent.

"Matters of employment" vary less in relative importance as between the different nationalities, and the same is true of "accident" and "physical defects." Under the very important heading of "sickness" we find one decided variation. The average for this cause is 22.27 per cent, and all the largely represented nationalities conform quite closely to this average with one exception: the cases of colored people show a percentage for sickness of 39.63, a rate that comes near to being the double of the average, and is the double of the percentage for this cause among the Irish.

Those who know the colored people only casually or by hearsay may be surprised to find the misconduct causes running so low among them, while sickness as a cause is of greater relative importance than in any other nationality. But to one who has worked in Baltimore or Washington it seems a natural result, and indeed a confirmation of the reliability of the statistics. The colored people are weak physically, become sick easily, and often die almost without visible resistance to disease. At the same time they have a dread of being assisted, especially when they think an institution will be recommended ; and this, together with a certain apathy, will often induce them to endure great

¹ Koren (Committee of Fifty), "Economic Aspects," etc., p. 176.

privations rather than ask for help. Besides this, there are many associations among them for mutual help, and the criminal and semi-criminal men have a brutal way of making their women support them. That the percentage for "lack of work," 17.42, is the lowest, and that for "insufficient employment" is the highest, under these two heads, perhaps reflects their hand-to-mouth way of working at odd jobs rather than taking steady work.

In order to find out whether the differences we have noted between the nationalities are constant for different places and according to different observers, the same figures were arranged by causes and cities for each nationality. On the whole, there were no variations that need destroy our confidence in the general average.

A classification in Table XI. of 4176 Boston and New York cases according to the number of persons in a family, and by nationality, confirms the indication of Table IV., that large families is a relatively unimportant cause of destitution.

Unmarried persons with no one dependent upon them are not included in this table. The largest single family is found among the colored people; but the largest proportion of relatively large families, those numbering from five to nine persons each, is found among the Italians and the Poles and Russians. The families of paupers or semi-paupers usually average smaller than those of the population as a whole, partly because the number among classes degenerate enough to be dependent is not as large as is ordinarily supposed, partly because of a high infant mortality, and partly because the families of these classes tend to disintegrate rapidly, children drifting away from parents, and aged parents in their turn being shaken off by adult children.¹ The "family," therefore, which applies for relief

¹ In a study of Almshouse Women in San Francisco, it was found that out of a hundred and eighty-four living children, forty were "some-

is often only the fragment of a family. That large families are not a principal cause of dependence is still further illustrated by the experience of the Associated Charities of Boston : ¹

MARRIED COUPLES: BOTH MAN AND WOMAN
BETWEEN 20 AND 40 YEARS OF AGE.

	NUMBER.	PER CENT.
Without Children	39	12.7
With One Child	56	18.3
With Two Children	65	21.3
With Three Children	57	18.6
With Four Children	50	16.3
With Five Children	20	6.5
With Six or More Children	18	5.9

The society reported that in at least two out of three of these families distress was due to preventable causes, of which moral delinquency was the chief.

Table XII. gives a classification of applicants for relief by marital condition and nationality.

Of those applying to the charity organization societies more than half are married people living together, about one-half the remainder, or one-quarter of the whole, are widows, and nearly one-tenth are deserted wives. In recent years much attention has been given to family desertion, and it is believed that it is increasing. Several studies of such families have been made, notably one in 1905 by Lilian Brandt, in which the typical male deserter is described as “young, able-bodied, more or less dissipated, capable of earning good wages, but rarely in the mood for making the exertion, and above all, he is lacking in the quality which

where”; that is, they had been separated from the mother in one way or another and she no longer knew where they were. — American Statistical Association, vol. iv., 1895, p. 237.

¹ Twenty-third Annual Report, 1902, p. 62.

makes an obligation to others outweigh considerations of personal comfort or preference." As to the consequence of desertion in these 574 families, "259 received relief amounting to nearly \$9000 and this was a mere fraction of the total; 90 of the families were broken up temporarily or permanently; 132 children were introduced to institution life or boarded out. Other children were deprived of a fair start in life."¹

TABLE XII.

CASES BY MARITAL CONDITION AND CITIES.

Charity Organization Society Reports.

	NEW YORK,* BOSTON, BALTIMORE, NEW HAVEN, 1890-1892. 8028 CASES.	NEW YORK, 1896-1900. 8638 CASES.	BOSTON, 1899-1905. 5529 CASES.
Married	47.7	64.71	53.5
Widows	23.7	23.21	24.7
Deserted Wives	6.9	5.89	9.4
Single Women	5.6	2.39	6.6
Deserted Husbands and Widowers	4.8	2.30	2.9
Single Men	10.6	1.02	2.9
Orphans . . . . .	.8	.31	.2
Divorced . . . . .	.4	.13	.7
Miscellaneous . . . . .	.2		
Total	100.0	100.00	100.0

* Arranged from Table XII., Warner's 1st ed.

The small percentage of single men in later years, as shown in Table XII., is due to the differentiation of charities, this class being treated by other agencies than the charity organization societies.

¹ "Five Hundred and Seventy-four Deserters and Their Families," pp. 61-62.

A matter which is not brought out by the tables thus far given, but which is well shown by the collateral investigations of the different agencies, is the large number of children either dragged into pauperism by the destitution of their parents or entirely abandoned by them. In the investigation of almshouse pauperism, of course, this is not brought out, as the children have been put in other institutions, and are beyond the view of the investigator. But where the cases are studied as they cross the pauper line, the large number of children is striking. Of 8638 persons dealt with by the New York Charity Organization Society in 1896-1900, 48 per cent were under fourteen; and in Boston from 1899-1905, of 5529 cases coming under the care of the Associated Charities, 46 per cent were under fourteen. On the whole, it may be concluded that, while the leading cause of confirmed pauperism, as investigated by Mr. Booth in England, is the weakness of old age, the leading cause of incipient pauperism, as investigated by the American Charity Organization Societies, is the weakness of childhood.

Taking this in connection with the large percentage of pauperism which is constantly and everywhere attributed to sickness and physical defect, we have a striking confirmation of the conclusion reached by Dugdale in his study of the Jukes. He says:—

“1. Pauperism is an indication of weakness of some kind, either youth, disease, old age, injury, or, for women, childbirth.

“2. Hereditary pauperism rests chiefly upon disease in some form, tends to terminate in extinction, and may be called the sociological aspect of physical degeneration.”

We find, phrasing our conclusions in medical terms, that the commonest exciting cause of the poverty that approaches pauperism is incapacity, resulting in most chronic cases from sickness or other degenerate and degenerating conditions. Weakness of some sort is the most typical characteristic of the destitute classes. The predisposing causes of this

degeneration and weakness are next to be sought for. A physician turns from diagnosing a case to inquire for predisposing causes, first in the habits and heredity of the individual, and secondly in the nature of his occupation, or other conditions of life. In Chapter III. we will consider some of the predisposing causes of degeneration which pertain to the individual; and in the succeeding chapter some of those which pertain to environment.

CHAPTER III.

SYMPTOMATIC CAUSES OF DEGENERATION.

IN the preceding chapter we have dealt with the principal causes of poverty and their relative proportions as ascertained by the case-counting method. In order to gather up the results of this method still more completely we shall now consider personal habits and characteristics, and the influence of stock and family through heredity; that is, the characteristics and habits of the individual himself which render him incapable or likely to become so; first, as to their nature, and, finally, as to their origin. For it is to bad habits that the ordinary observer attributes a large part of the misery of the world; and as immediate causes of degeneration, they undoubtedly have great influence. Intemperance, that is, the abuse of alcoholic drinks, has long been held to be a principal cause — by many the cause — of crime, pauperism, and poverty. The earlier American observers attributed from 50 to 75 per cent of misery to it, but these were estimates merely, not based on statistics.¹ During the last decade of the nineteenth century a number of careful statistical inquiries were made which reduced the factor of drink to surprisingly low percentages. In Table VI. (pp. 50, 51) the figures range from 20.5 per cent to 8 per cent — an average for five cities of 11.8 per cent; in Professor Lindsay's table (p. 53) the average for New York, Boston, and Baltimore is 13.7 per cent. The figures of foreign tables go as low or lower.

¹ De Gerando, "*Bienfaisance Publique*," 1839, vol. i., p. 318; Brace, "*Dangerous Classes of New York*," 1872, pp. 65-66; Boies, "*Prisoners and Paupers*," 1893, p. 137. See Devine, "*Principles of Relief*," pp. 285, 292, for other historical references.

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Böhmert's tables of 77 cities of Germany (1888) give drink as chief cause in only 1.3 per cent of 90,000 cases. Charles Booth concluded that 14 per cent of primary poverty, 13 per cent of secondary poverty, and 15 per cent of pauperism in workhouses was due to intemperance. Rowntree omits drink altogether as an immediate cause of primary poverty, but says that it is a predominant one of secondary poverty. Without attempting for the present to account for the apparent decline of the percentages of drink as a cause of poverty, we may turn to a very thorough study of intemperance as related to crime, pauperism, and poverty made in 1896-1898 for the Committee of Fifty by John Koren.¹ The statistics for the section on the liquor problem in its relation to poverty were secured by 33 Charity Organization Societies representing the same number of cities in 18 states and the District of Columbia.

The general conclusion of these figures was that of the 29,923 cases, 18.46 per cent owed their poverty to the personal use of liquor, 2.07 per cent to the intemperate habits of one or both parents, .45 per cent to the intemperate habits of natural or legal guardians, and 7.39 per cent to the intemperate habits of others, not parents or guardians. The general average percentage of poverty due directly or indirectly to drink was 25.06. Table XIII., rearranged from Koren, shows the direct and indirect effect of the use of liquor by race.

In respect to race, Table XIII. shows conclusively that drink, both as a direct and indirect cause of poverty, is more prevalent among the white than among the colored, almost in the proportion of two to one. The figures for the seven

¹ Koren, "Economic Aspects of the Liquor Problem," 1899. The Committee of Fifty is an organization of distinguished private persons, of varied religious and social views, who have supplied the money, engaged expert service, and published the results of a comprehensive research into the liquor question. See Bibliography for the four publications already issued.

TABLE XIII.* — APPLICANTS FOR RELIEF AS AFFECTED DIRECTLY AND INDIRECTLY BY USE OF LIQUOR, BY COLOR (C.O.S. RECORDS).

INTEMPERANCE.	WHITE. No.	COLORED. No.	WHITE. %	COLORED. %	AGGREGATE No.	%
I. As a Direct Cause:						
Condition due to personal use of liquor	6,285	259	19.4	9.1	5,524	18.5
Condition not due to personal use of liquor	20,124	2,450	74.8	86.6	22,574	75.4
Not reported	1,704	121	6.8	4.3	1,825	6.1
Total Number of Cases	27,093	2,830			29,923	
II. As an Indirect Cause:						
Condition due to intemperate habits of others	2,558	144	9.8	6.1	2,802	9.4
Condition not due to intemperate habits of others	14,876	1,905	54.9	67.3	16,781	55.1
Not reported	9,559	781	35.3	27.6	10,340	34.5
Total Number of Cases	27,003	2,830			29,923	
SEVEN CITIES † AS A DIRECT CAUSE:						
Washington, D.C.	483	1,052	22.2	11.2		
Baltimore	841	238	18.4	2.5		
Wilmington	830	166	28.6	10.2		
New Haven	3,852	164	15.0	2.4		
Indianapolis	708	144	28.2	11.0		
Louisville	639	105	25.4	8.6		
Cincinnati	2,150	336	15.2	4.5		
Average Per Cent			19.7	7.1		

* Koen, "Economic Aspects, etc.," pp. 65-66.

† Cities showing largest number of colored applicants.

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cities containing the largest number of colored applicants are even more favorable to the negro race; and the average (7.1) corresponds quite closely to that of Professor Warner (6.23) already noted.

It is generally accepted that intemperance is preëminently a masculine vice; and among these applicants for relief, only 12.5 per cent of women as against 22.7 per cent of men have become dependent through drink. It is, however, when we note the percentages of drink as an indirect cause that the misery of women on account of it becomes apparent. Of the female applicants, 17 per cent as compared with 3.8 per cent of the male applicants owed their condition to the intemperate habits of others.¹

Table XIV. exhibits the intemperate habits of applicants for relief by nativity. The comparison of nationalities is somewhat unsatisfactory, owing to the small numbers represented. For instance, Poland, Italy, Russia, and Austria, which show the smallest percentages of poverty due to liquor, show also small total numbers. If, however, we take the other countries which are represented largely, we see that Ireland leads with 29 per cent and is followed by Canada and Scotland with 21 per cent and England with 18 per cent. The native-born, of whom a majority are of foreign parentage, divide the table in the middle with a percentage of 17, followed by Sweden 16 per cent and Germany 14 per cent. It is noticeable that the order of countries is only slightly altered in column 4 which represents the poverty indirectly due to intemperance.

In order to ascertain the relation of intemperance to pauperism Mr. Koren obtained statistics of 8420 inmates of fifty institutions (mostly almshouses) in ten states. As regards race, sex, and nationality, the results correspond very closely to those of the investigation of applicants for relief. The total number of negro paupers was only 285, and less

¹ Koren, "Economic Aspects," etc., pp. 65-66.

TABLE XIV.—APPLICANTS FOR RELIEF AND INTERFERENCE BY NATIVITY (C. O. S. RECORDS),
REARRANGED FROM KOREN, pp. 76-80.

NATIVITY (in order of percentage in column 3).	NUMBER.	PER CENT.	CONDITION DUE TO PERSONAL USE OF LIQUOR.	CONDITION DUE TO INTERFERENCE OF APPLICANTS AND OTHERS.	CONDITION NOT DUE TO INTERFERENCE.	CAUSE NOT REPORTED.
			%	%	%	%
FOREIGN BORN	11,510	41.2	13.7	19.4	74.4	6.3
Ireland	4,625	15.5	29.9	37.8	53.6	5.5
Scotland	315	1.0	21.6	26.9	63.7	6.4
Canada (French, Irish, Scotch)	628	2.1	21.0	30.7	64.2	5.1
England	1,992	5.0	18.8	26.1	63.7	6.3
NATIVE BORN	17,048	57.0	17.1	23.9	70.7	5.4
FOREIGN BORN (Continued)						
Sweden and Norway	585	1.9	16.6	21.0	75.0	3.9
Germany	2,971	9.9	14.5	20.2	75.4	4.4
Austria	206	.7	7.7	11.2	81.6	7.3
Russia (chiefly Hebrews)	208	.7	4.3	6.7	88.5	4.8
Italy	234	.8	1.3	3.4	87.2	9.4
Poland	346	1.1	1.2	15.3	78.3	6.4
All other countries	821	2.7	13.8	17.2	73.2	6.6
UNKNOWN	544	1.8	10.5	16.2	46.1	37.7
Total Number	20,923		6,524	7,499	20,621	1,804
Total Per Cent		100.0	18.5	26.0	68.9	6.0

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than half as many colored as white paupers owed their condition to personal use of liquor and to the intemperate habits of others. The same nationalities appear in practically the same order as in Table XIV., but the percentages for pauperism due to personal use and intemperance of others are uniformly much higher. The general average percentage of pauperism due directly or indirectly to drink is 37 per cent, with 5.23 per cent of the total number of cases unaccounted for.

In 1895 the Massachusetts Bureau of Labor Statistics undertook an investigation of the connection between pauperism and drink in the state pauper institutions, the results of which are corroborated on a larger scale by the Committee of Fifty, as shown below : —

PAUPERISM AND INTEMPERANCE.

	MASS. BUREAU OF LABOR, 1895. 8280 CASES.	KOREN "Eco- nomic Aspects," 1895. 8420 CASES.
Pauperism caused by :		
(1) Personal use of liquor	39.44	32.84
(2) Intemperate habits of parents . .	4.82	3.60
(3) Intemperate habits of guardians .	1.45	.27
(4) Intemperate habits of others . .	3.06	5.31

The only comparable foreign statistics which are available are those of workhouse pauperism in England.¹ Charles Booth found 12.6 per cent of 634 inmates at Stepney, London, to have been pauperized by drink and 21.9 per cent of 736 inmates of St. Pancras. These percentages seem very small when compared with American experience, but Mr. Booth himself said that it was probable that research into

¹ Mr. Koren discusses German statistics of pauperism on pp. 124-125, and shows that comparison is impossible.

the history of these people might disclose a greater connection between pauperism and the public house.¹

Table XV. shows the effect of intemperance in producing destitution and neglect of children. The data of 5136 cases were obtained from three groups of institutions: (1) societies for the prevention of cruelty to children or humane societies which deal with children of the most depraved; (2) state organizations of the National Children's Home Society, under whose treatment come a large number of illegitimate infants; (3) two state public schools which are, in fact, asylums for orphaned and dependent children.

Although the number of colored children represented in Table XV. is too small to be significant of itself, yet the smaller percentage of destitution due to drink is in harmony with statistics previously quoted. Comparing native-born with foreign-born children, there is a difference of 6 per cent in favor of the former; comparing children of native parentage with those of foreign parentage, the difference rises to 13 per cent. As in the case of women, the mere arithmetical fact that nearly one-half the destitution of 5000 children was due to the drinking habits of those having charge of them does not adequately represent the concomitant misery. Irrespective of transmitted tendencies to degeneration, the children of drunken parents fare badly because of neglect and privation. Whether the mother herself drinks, or is merely linked to a drunken husband, her life during the period of gestation is almost inevitably such as endangers the well-being of the child. The fact that when a large part of the family income goes for liquor, other branches of expenditure must be curtailed, is so obvious that it only needs to be mentioned. Moreover, the irrational and often brutal treatment received by children of the intemperate makes right development almost impossible for them. One fact brought out by the statistics of the Reg-

¹ Booth, "Pauperism," etc., p. 11.

TABLE XV.
INTemperance and Destitution of Children (1893-1896).
Arranged from Koren's Tables, Chap. IV.

CLASSES.	CONDITION DUE TO INTemperance OF ONE OR BOTH PARENTS.	CONDITION DUE TO INTemperance HABITS OF PARENTS OR GUARDIANS OR OTHERS.	CONDITION NOT DUE TO INTemperance.	CAUSES NOT REPORTED.	NUMBER OF EACH CLASS.
	PER CENT.	PER CENT.	PER CENT.	PER CENT.	
By Color:					
White	45.03	45.97	46.88	7.66	5034
Colored	39.22	39.22	51.96	8.82	102
By Nativity:					
Native born	42.57	43.59	48.21	8.20	4536
Foreign born	48.67	49.56	45.13	5.31	113
By Parent Nativity:					
Both parents native	35.79	37.40	51.91	10.89	1618
Both parents foreign	48.43	49.11	47.84	3.05	1179
Total Number	2307	2354	2388	394	5136
Total Per Cent.	44.93	45.83	46.50	7.67	100

istrar General of England may be given as showing in an extreme instance the perils attending child life when parents drink: a much larger number of children are suffocated in bed on the nights of Saturday and holidays than on other nights of the week. This prompt extinguishing of infant life is hardly a greater misfortune than for the child to grow up with irrational guidance and the evil example of drunken parents.

In addition to being ill nourished and often cruelly treated, such children grow up under the influence of a degenerating personality. Wilson says: —

“Typically the action induced in the brain [by alcohol] is of the nature of a progressive paralysis, beginning with the *highest level* and its most delicate functions, and spreading gradually downward through the lower. Moral qualities and the higher processes of intelligence are, therefore, first invaded.”¹

Children growing up under the influence of parents subject to such degeneration are not likely to develop the higher qualities at all, since the development of such qualities comes very largely from imitation. The utter lack of foresight, and the impossibility of postponing present gratification for the sake of future gain, is one of the pronounced characteristics of the drunkard, and is also common among the distinctly pauper class.

It has been repeatedly pointed out that the latest social development, especially in the United States, tends to separate the community into two classes,—the total abstainers and the hard drinkers. The tenser nervous organization of the modern man is in a state of less stable equilibrium than that of his progenitors, who lived largely out of doors, used their muscles in heavy work, ate large quantities of coarse food, and drank large quantities of mildly alcoholic liquor. In America, climatic conditions

¹ “Drunkenness,” pp. 15-16.

intensify the tendency indicated. A dry atmosphere and extremes of heat and cold produce nervous diseases unknown to European medical practice, or, at least, known here in advance of their appearance in Europe.¹ It is a matter of common observation that the children of European immigrants usually drink either less or more than their parents, and those who drink resort to the stronger liquors.

The results of the inquiries into the interrelations of poverty, pauperism, and intemperance, made under the auspices of the Committee of Fifty and presented in a most condensed form in the preceding pages, are seen to occupy a middle ground between the extreme views entertained by the older writers and those of Booth and Warner. It is not difficult, indeed, to account for the wide variations of opinion. The older opinion was held at a time when there was little knowledge of the social and economic causes of poverty — when it was accepted as inevitable rather than inquired into. Drunkenness was of all causes the most obvious and the most unpleasant, and being intermingled with the others, was therefore liable to be used as an explanation of all the rest.

On the other hand, Charles Booth and Amos G. Warner, representing two different types of scientific observers, were profoundly impressed with the deeper causes of misery and with the necessity of getting at the facts behind such obvious causes as drunkenness. They were inclined consequently to give intemperance no more than its numerical value in apportioning the causes of poverty. Mr. Booth, having set down as statistically true his percentages of 12.6 and 21.9 for drink as a cause of workhouse pauperism, apparently felt that it did not represent the whole truth and thereupon wrote that striking paragraph which has been

¹ Patten, "Economic Basis of Prohibition," *Annals*, vol. ii., p. 59 ff.; Beard, "Physical Future of American People," *Atlantic Monthly*, vol. xliii., p. 718.

quoted ever since as the true expression of the effect of drink upon the poor: —

“Of drink in all its combinations, adding to every trouble, undermining every effort after good, destroying the home, and cursing the young lives of the children, the stories tell enough. It does not stand as apparent chief cause in as many cases as sickness and old age; but if it were not for drink, sickness and old age could be better met.”¹

The general average of 15.98 per cent, in Table VI., indicating quantitatively the proportion of intemperance among applicants for relief, was taken from Charity Organization Society records, made with the purpose of showing all the causes and for the use of charity workers, and the indirect effect of drink was not included. Of the five Charity Organization Societies which furnished Professor Warner with data on the causes of poverty in 1890–1892 four also supplied Mr. Koren with data on the relation of drink to poverty in 1896–1898. The difference in the figures of these societies taken in the one case incidentally to another object, and in the other with the utmost care — sometimes by a specially trained person — for the sole purpose of ascertaining the proportion of intemperance among applicants for relief, is considerable, amounting in three cities to a total excess of 9 per cent, in Koren's tables. This fact alone would account for the difference of 3 per cent between Warner's general average of 15.2 and Koren's of 18 per cent for drink as a direct cause.

DRINK AS A CAUSE OF POVERTY.

Charity Organization Society Records.

	BALTI-MORE.	BUFFALO.	CINCINNATI.	NEW YORK.	NEW HAVEN.
Drink — Warner's Schedules	9.59	8.1	11.1	13.66	15.4
Drink — Koren's Schedules	11.3	21.3	13.7	19.59	14.4
.	+ 1.8	+ 13.2	+ 2.6	+ 5.9	— 1.0

¹ Booth, “Pauperism,” pp. 140–141.

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Whatever the reasons for these differences of statistics, the experience of many American charity workers seems to corroborate Mr. Koren's results, especially as to the indirect influence of drinking habits in producing need. The frequent use of such phrases as "a great curse and the cause of great misery," "intemperance is a conspicuous factor," etc., in the reports of charity workers whose phraseology is otherwise restrained, indicates a strong conviction. Professor Devine sums up forcibly the attitude of those who are in daily contact with distress, when he says:—

"It is a conservative estimate that one-fourth of all cases of destitution with which private agencies have to deal are fairly attributable to intemperance. This estimate includes only the cases in which there is an obvious connection between the use of alcohol and the dependent condition in which the family is found. The question as to how much should be added to cover the cases in which there is only a partial or indirect responsibility is a matter for conjecture, and estimates on this point are likely to differ according to the standpoint of the one who makes them. It is a matter for conjecture also, and estimates differ here again, as to what other evil consequences, aside from poverty and destitution, are due to drink. That there is an endless train of evils aside from the burden of pauperism and dependence which it entails, cannot be gainsaid. Insanity, suicide, and death in other forms result from the use of alcohol, in many instances in which no question of relief arises. Cruelty, neglect, and unhappiness result directly from the use of alcohol in families which are by no means near the verge of dependence. Crimes are committed under its stimulus, and demoralizing associations are formed or strengthened under conditions in which the use of alcohol is an important element, and it makes easier the path to vice and the indulgence of every debasing appetite. Certain diseases, such as tuberculosis and pneumonia, are far more likely to attack those who are subject to alcoholism, and it greatly impedes the recovery of those who are attacked. These consequences are not exhausted in the lives of the intemperate themselves, but are bequeathed to posterity in various forms of degeneracy, spiritual and physical."¹

In this paragraph Professor Devine was writing, not of

¹ "Principles of Relief," pp. 144-145.

confirmed inebriety, but of the effect of intemperance upon those who, being on the poverty line, came intermittently to the Charity Organization Societies for relief. The effects of drink are most plainly traced in the classes not yet pauperized. It is among artisans and those capable of earning good wages that the most money is spent for beer and whiskey, and the most vitality burnt out by it. Rowntree and Sherwell estimate that among the English working-classes, six shillings per week represents the average expenditure for drink, of families whose income ranges between twenty-one and thirty shillings.¹ The American negroes, though relatively temperate laborers, are kept poor, or at least poorer than they would otherwise be, by occasional extravagance in this direction. A colored man of very large experience estimates that poor "renters" in the South, corresponding to laborers in the North, spend an average of fifty cents a week (buying ten drinks) or about \$25 a year for whiskey; that is, "One bale of five-cent cotton, raised by very hard labor on three acres of land, goes to whiskey. Ten bales of cotton being an average yield from a one-mule farm of thirty acres in Lowndes County, the renter tithes his income to the liquor seller."²

In enumerating the effects of intemperance it must not be overlooked that it is at once an effect and a cause, a symptom and a source of degeneration. In a majority of cases where the drinking habit has become uncontrollable, it is a symptom of deeper disorganization. Dr. Brantwaite, His Majesty's Inspector under the Inebriates Act, in charge of all inebriates under legal detention in England, states his conviction in the following paragraph:—

"The more I see of habitual drunkards, the more I am convinced that the real condition we have to study, the trouble we have to fight and the source of all the mischief, is inherent defect in mental

¹ "The Temperance Problem," p. 20.

² Koren, "Economic Aspects," etc., p. 163; see also More, "Wage-earners Budgets," p. 140.

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mechanism, generally congenital, sometimes acquired. Alcohol, far from being the chief cause of habitual inebriety, is merely the medium which brings into prominence certain defects which might otherwise have remained hidden, but for its exposing or developing influence. In the abstinence of alcohol the same persons, instead of meriting the term inebriate, would have proved unreliable in other ways. They would have been called ne'er-do-weels, profligates, persons of lax morality, excitability, or abnormally passionate individuals, persons of melancholic tendencies or eccentric. I do not believe that any drunkard of all the 8000 or more I have known has voluntarily and of intention made himself so ; on the contrary, I am convinced that all who possess a sufficiently developed mental equilibrium to appreciate the seriousness of their condition have urgently and honestly desired to live a sober life, and have fought to this end and failed in a struggle against weakness, the strength of which a normal man is quite incapable of realizing.”¹

In corroboration of this opinion, Dr. Brantwaite presents the accompanying table of 2277 inebriates committed to special care, previous to 1907:—

TABLE XVI.
INEBRIATES UNDER LEGAL DETENTION: ADMITTED TO
REFORMATORIES.
Classification according to Mental State.*

	NUMBER.	PER CENT.
1. Insane — certified and sent to asylums . .	51	16.1
2. Very Defective — imbeciles, degenerates, epileptics	315	62.6
3. Defective — as above, but less marked, eccentric, silly, dull, senile, or subject to periodical paroxysms of ungovernable temper	1060	46.5
4. Of Average Mental Capacity — on admission or after six months' detention . .	581	37.4
Total Admissions	2277	100.0

* *Ibid.*, p. 256.
¹ *Journal of Inebriety*, Winter, 1907, p. 254.

He concludes that in at least 62 per cent of these cases mental defect or disease was the cause of their inebriety; that a majority of insane inebriates became alcoholic as a result of their tendency to insanity, not insane as a result of alcoholism; that in the case of defective inebriates, there is commonly present the same physical abnormalities as are found among the feeble-minded, only in a less degree, and that their drunkenness is the direct result of mental defect for which they are not virtually — though legally — responsible. In these cases, Dr. Brantwaite enumerates three characteristic mental symptoms: an impaired moral sense, imperfect control over impulse, and defective power of judgment — the first being the one most likely to have existed previous to drunken habits. He continues: —

“The early history of all cases where this symptom is marked has justified a probability of congenital origin. Odd and peculiar from birth, these persons have always seemed incapable of acting like other people. There is often a history during childhood of fits, chorea, or other neuroses; as children they have proved uneducable, and as adults unemployable from incapacity to learn the details of a wage-earning occupation. They appear to be unable to tell the truth and cannot be made to see any reason why they should do so. They are filthy in habits, and require supervision, even force to insure a moderate amount of cleanliness when under detention. They do not care in the least for the opinion of others in matters relating to conduct, nor can they be induced to see any reason why dictation from others should be obeyed.”¹

The number of habitual drunkards is, however, comparatively small, and destitution occasioned by them, though serious enough, is not the real menace to society. On the other hand it must be acknowledged that by far the larger proportion of those who drink do not fall into distress. It is only when it accompanies idleness, incompetence, sickness, neglect of family obligations, that the effects of casual and

¹ Similar descriptions are given by Palmer, “Inebriety,” pp. 24, 27; Wilson, “Drunkenness,” p. 53.

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social drinking become obviously destructive. When we know why the average man drinks, we shall be on the road to thorough temperance reform. Does the laboring man spend his margin in drink because of exhaustion in his trade, or because he has nowhere to go except to the saloon, or because it is the only cheap and pleasurable mental stimulus open to him? Mr. Booth mentions that the bicycle has been a preventive of drinking among clerks in London. To sum up: intemperance, as a cause of dependence, is symptomatic; on the one hand of defect and deterioration of personal character, on the other of those wasting, monstrous, and oppressive social conditions which produce abnormal appetites and antisocial conduct.

In the tables of the causes of poverty, the column next to the one giving the percentages for intemperance includes under "other moral defects" the very small number of cases in which poverty has been traced directly to "immorality." This term is here used to stand for sexual licentiousness, or other perversion of the sexual instinct. But the small number of cases of poverty directly attributable to this factor in no wise reflects its importance. Careful observers believe it to be a more constant and fundamental cause of degeneration than intemperance. It certainly produces degeneration of a more or less pronounced type in a much larger number of persons. It persists almost to the end in the most degenerate stock, while at the same time it is operative among the healthier classes. A reference to the accounts quoted later on, describing the habits of the Rooneys, the Jukes, and the Ishmaels, will show that in these distinctly pauper families sexual vice plays a part in degradation more important than intemperance.

The medical profession has given us even less of scientific exposition of the degeneration which results from perversion of the sexual instincts than of that which comes from the abuse of stimulants and narcotics. The changes which must

undoubtedly take place in the structure of the nervous and circulatory systems, as a consequence of self-abuse or sexual excess, have not been sufficiently studied. Venereal disease has been treated at length, but the effect upon the physical and mental man of vice as vice has been neglected. The great bulk of literature existing upon the subject is simply the output of advertising quacks.

No boy among boys, or man among men, can have failed to have evidence thrust upon him showing that a very great amount of vitality is burnt out by the fires of lust. Among the rougher classes of day laborers upon railroads, in quarries, and even upon the farms, the whole undercurrent of thought, so far as conversation gives evidence of it, is thoroughly base and degrading. In many cases inefficiency certainly results from the constant preoccupation of the mind with sensual imaginings. At the present day, a given amount of such preoccupation will diminish a man's industrial efficiency more than ever before, because of the increasing importance of the mental element in all work. If a man has brute strength, he can shovel dirt quite passably, even though his thoughts are elsewhere. But most of the occupations of the present require alertness and sustained attention. Railroad day laborers, and others of a similar class, are very commonly kept from rising in the industrial scale by their sensuality, and it is this and the resulting degeneration that finally converts many of them into lazy vagabonds. The inherent uncleanness of their minds prevents them from rising above the rank of day laborers, and finally incapacitates them even for that position. It may also be suggested that the modern man has a stronger imagination than the man of a few hundred years ago, and that sensuality destroys him the more rapidly. A highly developed nervous system makes him a more powerful man, if it is properly used, but it enables him to destroy himself more promptly if that be his tendency.

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In addition to the direct effect of the perversion of the sexual instincts must be reckoned the ravages of venereal disease. Among the degraded class it is accounted a mark of manliness to have had syphilis until exposure to it is no longer dangerous. From 25 to 30 per cent of the Juke family were tainted with it. It is this disease coöperating with drunkenness that finally brings the prostitute and her consort through the hospital to the almshouse. There are probably few almshouses in the country where some of the inmates are not paupers in part because of its effects upon them; it is not easy to visit a foundling hospital of any size, or a children's hospital, where this disease is not especially excluded, without finding children in bitter and hopeless misery because of congenital syphilis. The doctors administer remedies which give temporary relief, but the doctors themselves often express a belief that the best thing that can be hoped for such children is an early death.

The following statements made by high scientific authority and published for the information of teachers by the American Society of Sanitary and Moral Prophylaxis sufficiently describe the extent and the effects of venereal disease in this country : —

“Syphilis is estimated by different authorities as affecting from 5 to 18 per cent of the whole population. It is usually very slowly developed, and the final stages may appear as late as fifty or sixty years after infection. It is a curable disease if properly treated for the necessary length of time. That the later lesions are so common is because adequate treatment is often not received, which is of the greatest consequence, since *syphilis is the one disease inherited in full virulence*. ‘Gonorrhœa is one of the most widespread and devious of transmissible diseases and more than any other a cause of chronic ill-health and permanent disability’ (Osler). This disease, too, is curable if treatment is begun early and persisted in long enough and with sufficient skill. Beyond a certain stage in both sexes there is no cure, although in some cases the possibility of transmission ceases.”

“The larger proportion of pelvic troubles among women and of surgery of the pelvic organs is due to gonorrhœa; probably one-half of childless marriages and of ‘one-child families’ are due to this cause. It is certain that a large proportion of abortions and miscarriages are due to syphilis; also a considerable percentage of early mortality, inferior mentality, degeneracy, and insanity. We have more than 10,000 totally blind from gonorrhœa; this does not include those partially blind from gonorrhœa and syphilis.”¹

The social evil and the diseases resulting from it have been recognized as corrupting and degenerative forces in society for many centuries, but in modern times there has grown up what has been called “a conspiracy of silence” on the part of the press, the clergy, public educators, and even of physicians concerning them. In spite of the fact that these diseases are as virulent and more widespread than smallpox, or leprosy, and that their ultimate victims are innocent women and children, no measures are taken to prevent their inception or their dissemination.

In the fall of 1900, the city of New York was startled by discoveries of the extent and flagrancy of offences against morality and decency in certain districts. At a citizens’ meeting a Committee of Fifteen was appointed to institute an inquiry, publish the facts, promote legislation, and suggest measures for lessening the allurements and incentives to vice and crime. Their report took the form of an extensive study of the history of the regulation of vice by Professor Alvin S. Johnson, concluding with an outline of a policy for the control of the social evil in New York.² At about the same time the New York Tenement House Commissioners published in their report an account of prostitution as a tenement-house evil.³ The coincidence of these revelations, with an unusual awakening of interest in venereal diseases

¹ Educational Pamphlet No. 2, “Society of Sanitary and Moral Prophylaxis,” p. 7. Similar facts in Morrow, “Social Diseases.”

² “The Social Evil,” preface, pp. v-vii, 1902.

³ De Forest and Veiller, vol. ii., pp. 15-25, 1903.

among the medical profession both in Europe and America, resulted in the formation of the American Society of Sanitary and Moral Prophylaxis in 1905.¹ For the first time, in this country, this subject is being studied and discussed by laymen as well as physicians of the highest standing without hesitation and without concealment.

Professor Johnson shows that vice, so far from being a constant and invariable element in social life, has varied widely at different periods in response to social, economic, and religious changes, and has a direct relation to war, commercial disturbances, congestion of population, and employment. He infers that since the causes of vice do not operate with uniform force, it is probable that even if vice cannot be eradicated, it can nevertheless be controlled and therefore limited. Modern prostitution is shaped by the industrial and social conditions of city life — the masculine factor made up of the army of unmarried workers, the feminine factor, of girls and women who have made "a quasi-voluntary choice of prostitution as a means of livelihood." The conditions which develop masculine vice are complex and intimately connected with the cityward movement of population. The country boy, already informed by the vulgar talk of older men, goes to the city; his income for some years will be too small to marry upon; his interests are usually self-centred; the cheap amusements open to him are generally more or less suggestive and he is influenced continually by the prevalent theory that the sex instinct must be satisfied for the sake of health. At the same time the principal check upon conduct — the opinion of one's neighbors — is lacking, while the allurements of vice are constantly present.

As for the feminine element, there is a small, probably very small, number who are sexual perverts; but Professor Johnson declares that the victim of force or fraud, or of

¹ "Transactions," etc., vol. 1., 1906.

adverse social and economic conditions, soon reaches a point where she cannot be distinguished from the congenital pervert. By far the larger number of prostitutes were originally not different from normal women; one type is thus described:—

“There is a large class of women who may be said to have been trained for prostitution from earliest childhood. Foundlings and orphans and the offspring of the miserably poor, they grow up in wretched tenements, contaminated by constant familiarity with vice in its lowest forms. Without training, mental or moral, they remain ignorant and disagreeable, slovenly and uncouth, good for nothing in the social and economic organism. When half matured, they fall the willing victims of their male associates and inevitably drift into prostitution.”¹

Another section consists of those whose wages are often not enough for a living, much less to afford any pleasure. These are the “occasional prostitutes” which are said to outnumber the permanent class in Berlin. A third class, more common in American cities, consists of those attracted by the appearance of luxury and ease of the life of a mistress and disinclined to the low-paid and monotonous labor which alone they can perform. These two latter sections without resources or industrial competence are inordinately desirous of marriage, and are, therefore, the more easily induced to become mistresses, or seduced under promise of marriage. It is most significant that not less than one-fourth of the prostitutes in New York City have been domestic servants—a class of workers who have no normal home life or pleasures of their own and who must go upon the street to be courted.²

In the discussion of remedial measures it is customary to enumerate only three ways of dealing with the social evil—absolute freedom, entire prohibition, and reglemen-

¹ “The Social Evil,” p. 10.

² A careful analysis of the different classes of prostitutes in London is found in Booth, “Life and Labor,” final volume, pp. 121-131.

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tation. The first is not to be tolerated in modern society; the second has never been successfully enforced, even supposing that people could be made virtuous by law; and thus there is apparently left only the system of regulation which generally prevails in Europe. There is, in fact, a fourth measure termed the "moral control" of vice which partakes of the essence of both prohibition and regulation. The object of reglementation is to check disease, and its essential features are the periodical examination of the prostitute and treatment in lock hospitals for venereal diseases.¹ Aside from the legal difficulties which would arise in this country if the prostitute would not voluntarily submit to examination and treatment, there is the far greater one of suppressing clandestine prostitution. In those cities of Europe where reglementation is most effectively organized, the clandestine and the unregistered women far outnumber those under the control of the Morals police. Moreover, the public prostitute is not the only or even the chief source of contagion. It is generally conceded that the clandestine prostitute is the more dangerous from a sanitary standpoint, and Dr. Prince A. Morrow says of the masculine factor: —

"The health officer of a port might as well attempt to prevent the importation of infectious disease from a plague infected vessel by quarantining the infected women while permitting the infected men to go free."²

Nor does European experience show that reglementation has been to any considerable extent effective in its primary aim of checking disease. Professor Johnson, quoting the most trustworthy authorities, finally concludes that they claim for it "merely a modicum of good, or look upon it as a stock upon which really useful control may be grafted."³

¹ For description of reglementation in Paris, Berlin, and other European cities, see "The Social Evil," Chap. III. and Chap. IV.

² "Social Diseases," p. 334.

³ "The Social Evil," p. 134.

Without pursuing further the results of foreign experiments, it is enough to say that reglementation is wholly impracticable for the reason that an American community would be hostile to it. The Anglo-Saxon attitude is illustrated in the English Contagious Diseases Acts in 1866-1877 and the experiment in St. Louis, Missouri, in 1870-1874, which were both overthrown by the extreme opposition of public opinion. Even if practicable and desirable, reglementation involves the arrest of any woman on suspicion, a degree of arbitrary police power, an interference with personal liberty, and a fundamental injustice, which would not be tolerated in this country.

Under the title of "Moral Control," the Committee of Fifteen, and the leaders in the movement for Prophylaxis, have agreed upon certain preventive and ameliorative measures, based upon the elements of agreement in all parties, and making moral rather than sanitary considerations of paramount importance. The Committee of Fifteen recommends: (1) Strenuous efforts to prevent in the tenement houses the overcrowding which they believe to be the prolific source of sexual immorality; (2) the provision of purer and more elevating forms of amusement to supplant the attractions which stimulate sensuality; (3) the improvement of the material conditions of the wage-earning class, especially of young wage-earning women; and finally they regard a better system of moral education as an imperative necessity. They point out that in the whole of Greater New York there were in 1902 only twenty-six hospital beds available for women suffering from venereal diseases and recommend an increase of such facilities on grounds of public health. They recommend further that minors who are notoriously debauched be confined in asylums and reformatories; and above all, they recommend a change in the attitude of the law, which at present regards prostitution as a crime. On this point the Committee declares:—

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"If we are ever to escape from the present impossible conditions, it seems imperative to draw the distinction sharply between sin and crime. . . . A sin is not less odious because it is not treated as a crime. Sins may even be incomparably more heinous than offences which the law visits with punishment. Nevertheless, some of the most grievous sins are not subjected to legal penalties, simply because it is recognized that such penalties cannot be enforced, and a law on the statute book that cannot be enforced is a whip in the hands of the blackmailer. Corruption in the police force can never be extirpated until this prolific source of it is stopped."¹

The acceptance of these recommendations as a programme of action involves driving prostitution wholly from tenement houses and the homes of the poor; repressing all obtrusive manifestations of prostitution as a public nuisance; and the creation of a special and select body of *Morals Police*, analogous to sanitary police, to exercise the duties of repression and surveillance. It does not contemplate the suppression of scattered houses of ill-fame because the Committee believe this to be at present impracticable.

Professor Johnson suggests the prohibition of women in saloons and in dance-halls, wherever immorality becomes conspicuous; that citizens or parents should be able to bring complaint against tenants suspected of harboring vice; the extension of public education, especially to fit young girls for more efficient lines of industry; and, for the protection of the family, a requirement of a health certificate for both parties, before a marriage license may be issued. Dr. Prince A. Morrow not only concurs in all these proposals, but goes farther. He would penalize the transmission of venereal disease on the same grounds that fornication and spitting in public places are forbidden. He points out that venereal diseases, unlike smallpox, for instance, are transmitted by a voluntary act; and he concludes that whether communicated through culpable ignorance, or criminal imprudence, their transmission should be

¹ "The Social Evil," p. 177.

punishable. Dr. Morrow thinks the entering wedge of social control would be the compulsory notification of these diseases by physicians as of other contagious diseases (without the name of the patient) and enforced isolation. But he chiefly emphasizes, as do all other recent American writers, the necessity for the dissemination of knowledge and education in self-control, among the young. Since the majority of prostitutes fall before the age of eighteen, and a majority of infected men are infected before twenty-one, the responsibility of parents, and of society, is infinitely greater than that of these ignorant and immature individuals. The far-off remedy lies in the social ostracism of the libertine, and the decline of the double standard for men and women.

After drink-crave and sensuality, we might enumerate a large number of characteristics or habits which result from and result in a tendency to degenerate. On the side of appetites would be the craving for opium, and for various kinds of unwholesome food. On the side of defects, would be all those sufficiently pronounced to have been enumerated in the table of causes, and in addition the mental incapacity to judge wisely in the ordinary business affairs of life. This last is one of the most vexatious causes of poverty with which the ordinary friendly visitor for a charity organization society has to deal. It sometimes manifests itself in the form of extravagance, but oftener in pure blundering, which does not even bring the satisfaction of temporary indulgence. "Against stupidity the gods themselves are powerless." A proverbial saying, which has a very direct bearing on the subject, asserts that "Poor folks have poor ways." This cause is widely operative; yet writers upon social pathology seldom give it distinct treatment, apparently thinking that it is an individual and not a social phenomenon. The social results of it, however, are not to be ignored. The development of modern industries

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puts upon the judgment of individuals an ever increasing burden. The breaking down of the barriers of custom, the rapid changes in the methods of industry, the increasing amount of purchasing to be done to obtain family supplies, the increased need of wise bargaining in the selling of services, the extension of the borrowing habit both for good and evil: these and a hundred other features of modern industry tend to add to sobriety and industry as prerequisites of industrial success, a further requisite — that of good judgment, and a judgment that acts not only surely but promptly. From the proprietary farmer all the way down to the disease-burdened man who decides whether or not he will go to a hospital, mistaken judgments are constantly pushing people toward and across the pauper line. One of the commonest mistakes is an utter failure to appreciate in advance the burden of a debt at compound interest. The chattel mortgage shark, the pawnbroker, and the "instalment plan" houses thrive because of this failure.¹

Allied to craving on the one hand and to lack of judgment on the other are gambling and speculation, of which Mr. Booth says that they are irrepressible and only to be stopped by changing human nature. In the San Francisco almshouse were found several working women whose savings had all gone in speculation in mining stocks, and among the men a considerably larger number. Betting on the races, buying lottery tickets, and gambling may not appear in the tabulated causes of poverty, but like drink they consume a large portion of the margin which would serve to lift the family out of poverty.

Shiftlessness and inefficiency, the last of the personal characteristics to which special reference need be made, is due to a variety of defects: it may be lack of judgment, stupidity, lack of ambition; in not a few cases to lack of

¹ Brown, "Development of Thrift," Chap. I.; Ward, "Psychic Factors of Civilization," p. 169 ff.

proper training. Often it seems to be the manifestation of undervitalization simply, which in turn may go back to bad heredity, sickness, malnutrition, or bad habits. Whatever its origin, it manifests itself in general incompetence, in lack of the New England faculty of getting along, in want of persistence, in a chronic "ill-luck." A Boston district agent well describes these general incompetents: —

"They are not intelligent enough or strong enough or skillful enough or energetic enough to do work that employers can afford to pay a living wage for or to manage their own income in such a fashion as to make both ends meet; the men and women who are unable to do the simplest thing efficiently, who are unable to spend a single dollar wisely; the men and women who go 'slatting' through life, who are always thinking they can do what they cannot do, or who do not half try to do the things they are set to do — these are society's burden."¹

As we have already pointed out in discussing unemployment, the tendency of intermittent and irregular work is to produce a progressive deterioration. The weightiest charge which many vagabonds might bring against the modern industrial organization is that they have become what they are through the effect of involuntary idleness; for idleness, voluntary or involuntary, tends to produce a degeneration, physical, mental, and moral, which perpetuates the condition that begets it. Besides intermittent labor, none of the causes of inefficiency, not even sickness, says Professor Devine, is so important as defective education — the entire lack of training for some and the wrong kind of training for others.²

Thus far we have not needed to inquire whether the evil propensities and bad habits which result in degeneration have come through free choice on the part of the individual, or have been the result of foreordination in the theological or the scientific sense of the term. We have been concerned

¹ Report of Associated Charities, Boston, 1904, p. 24.

² "Charities and the Commons," vol. xv., p. 150 (1905).

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simply with their interactions and their effects. Ignoring all discussion as to the freedom of the will in any absolute sense of the term, it is our present business to trace causes just as far as they are found to be traceable. As an insurance company is justified in refusing to take a risk upon the life of a man who comes of a sickly family, or is engaged in some peculiarly dangerous occupation, so the student of social science is justified in concluding that certain influences of heredity and environment have an effect upon the character of the individual that is often manifest, and that is frequently to some extent measurable.

From the time of birth, or even from the time of conception, the characteristics of race and of sex are fixed; and these are not without influence on the industrial history of the individual, as our tables show. Beyond this, every man has his own individuality — the combination of physical and mental peculiarities which make him a different individual from every other. Since, by the law of sex, he has twice as many ancestors as his father or mother had, he could inherit anything which either of them had received. His share from both will form a sort of mosaic, composed of their species and race characters added together and divided by two, plus an approximate half of the personal peculiarities of each.

Dr. David Starr Jordan, in a chapter entitled "The Heredity of Richard Roe," has concisely and admirably stated what is known of heredity, and we shall quote from him certain paragraphs which have a direct bearing on the question of the relative influence of heredity and environment in the production of social degeneration.¹

"So in the chromatin of his two parent cells Richard Roe finds his potentialities, his capacities, and his limitations. But latent in these are other capacities and other limitations handed down from earlier

¹ *The Arena*, June, 1897; also reprinted in "Footnotes to Evolution," Chap. V.

generations. Each grandfather and grandmother has some claim on Richard Roe, and, behind these, dead hands from older graves are still beckoning in his direction. . . . The bluer the blood, that is, the more closely alike these ancestors are, the greater will be the common factor, . . . in perfect thorough-breeding the individual should have no peculiarities at all. . . . Weakness or badness is more often thoroughbred than strength or virtue. The bluest of blood may run in the veins of the pauper as well as in those of the aristocrat. . . . Too narrow a line of descent tends to intensify weakness. Vigor and originality come from the mingling of variant elements. . . . ”

“Again, at the time of Richard Roe’s birth, the formula of his father was slowly changed under the reaction toward activity or toward idleness, resulting from his efforts and his environment. Changes constantly arise from the experiences of life, the stress of environment . . . the growth through voluntary effort, the depression from involuntary work or idleness, the degeneration caused by stimulants or vice . . . and each may have left its mark on him. Through these influences every man is changed from what he was or what he might have been to what he is.”

“It seems to be true that any great physical weakness on the part of Richard Roe’s parents would tend to lower his constitutional vigor, whatever the origin of such weakness might be. If so, such weakness might appear as a large deficiency in his power of using his equipment. His vital momentum would be small. It may be, too, that any high degree of training, as in music or mathematics, might determine in the offspring the line of least resistance for the movement of his faculties. . . . ”

“There are many phenomena of transmitted qualities that cannot be charged to heredity. Just as a sound mind demands a sound body, so does a sound child demand a sound mother. Bad nutrition before as well as after birth may neutralize the most valuable inheritance within the germ-cell. Even the father may transmit weakness in development as a handicap to hereditary strength. The many physical vicissitudes between conception and birth may determine the rate of early growth or the impetus of early development. In a sense the first impulse of life comes from such sources outside the germ-cell and therefore outside of heredity. . . . The plan of Richard Roe’s life as prepared at birth admits of many deviations. . . . Experiences of life will tend to reduce or destroy some of these elements. Some of

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them will be systematically fostered or checked by those who determine Richard Roe's education. . . . The Ego, or self, in the life of Richard Roe, is the sum of his inheritance bound together by the resultant of the consequences of the thoughts and deeds which have been performed by him and perhaps by others also. . . . The greater heredity is the heredity made by ourselves. . . . With all this, we may be sure that the stream of Richard Roe's life will not rise much above its fountain. He will have no powers far beyond those potential in his ancestors. But who can tell what powers are latent in these? It takes peculiar conditions to bring any group of qualities into general notice. The men who are famous in spite of an unknown ancestry are not necessarily different from this ancestry. . . . Real greatness is as often the expression of the wisdom of the mother as of anything the father may have been or done."

For the purpose of studying hereditary tendencies toward degeneration the points to be especially noted are, then, what Richard Roe receives from his parents of racial and personal qualities, plus the degree of vital momentum determined by the nutrition and conditions of his mother during the period of gestation; and after birth, the environment which his parents and society provide for him. The tendency of children to suffer from certain varieties of bodily and mental weakness the same as or analogous to those of their family stock has long been recognized. Beyond this, occult characteristics, tending to inefficiency and therefore to pauperism, are believed to be transmitted, although their exact nature either in parent or child has not been described.

The transmission of hereditary tendencies to degeneration can most easily be traced where some palpable defect is both the result and evidence of degeneration. In his book on "The Marriages of the Deaf in America," Edward Allen Fay has collected with thoroughness and caution the available facts which show the transmissible character of deafness; and has corroborated the essential conclusions of Professor Alexander Graham Bell. Table XVII. gives the facts collected by him.

TABLE XVII. — MARRIAGES OF THE DEAF.

	No. of Marriages		No. of Children.		Percentage	
	Total.	Resulting in Deaf Offspring.	Total.	Deaf	Marriages Resulting in Deaf Offspring.	Deaf Children.
One or Both Partners Deaf.	3078	300	6782	588	9.7	8.6
Both Partners Deaf	2377	220	5072	429	9.2	8.4
One Partner Deaf; the Other Hearing	509	76	1532	151	12.5	9.8
One or Both Partners congenitally Deaf	1477	194	3401	413	13.1	12.1
One or Both Partners adventitiously Deaf	2212	124	4701	199	5.6	4.2
Both Partners congenitally Deaf	335	83	779	202	24.7	25.9
One Partner congenitally Deaf; the Other adventitiously Deaf	814	66	1820	119	8.1	6.5
Both Partners adventitiously Deaf	845	80	1720	40	3.5	2.3
One Partner congenitally Deaf; the Other Hearing	191	28	528	63	14.6	11.9
One Partner adventitiously Deaf; the Other Hearing	310	10	713	16	3.2	2.2
Both Partners had Deaf Relatives	437	103	1090	222	23.5	20.9
One Partner had Deaf Relatives; the Other had not	541	86	1210	78	6.6	6.4
Neither Partner had Deaf Relatives	471	11	1044	13	2.3	1.2
Both Partners congenitally Deaf; Both had Deaf Relatives	172	49	429	130	28.4	30.3
Both Partners congenitally Deaf; One had Deaf Relatives, the Other had not	49	8	105	21	16.3	20.0
Both Partners congenitally Deaf; Neither had Deaf Relatives	14	1	24	1	7.1	4.1
Both Partners adventitiously Deaf; Both had Deaf Relatives	57	10	114	11	17.5	9.6
Both Partners adventitiously Deaf; One had Deaf Relatives, the Other had not	167	7	357	10	4.1	2.3
Both Partners adventitiously Deaf; Neither had Deaf Relatives	284	2	550	2	.7	.3
Partners Consanguine	31	14	100	30	45.1	30.0

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Mr. Fay concludes that the married deaf have married deaf rather than hearing partners, chiefly from the sympathy engendered by their condition and only secondarily because of opportunities for acquaintance afforded by the schools for the deaf. On the whole, the marriages of these persons are slightly less productive than ordinary marriages, but their offspring are much more liable to be deaf than those of ordinary marriages in the proportion of 8.6 to .01 per cent.

The table shows that congenitally deaf persons, whether they are married to one another, to adventitiously deaf, or to hearing partners, are far more liable to have deaf offspring than adventitiously deaf persons, the percentage of deaf children of the one ranging from 6 to 25 per cent, in the other from 2.3 to 4.3 per cent. Deaf persons having deaf relatives, however they are married, and hearing persons having deaf relatives and married to deaf partners, are very liable to have deaf offspring. The marriages of the deaf most liable to result in deaf offspring are those in which the partners are related by consanguinity. The extremes of liability are found in the two classes last named in the table, i.e. both partners adventitiously deaf without deaf relatives having .3 per cent deaf children, while the consanguineous partners had 30 per cent deaf children.¹

Dr. Strahan regards congenital deafness as a sign of general decay, which, if deepened by intermarriage, must extinguish the family;² and he names as transmissible by inheritance — and as at once results, evidences, and causes of degeneration — a list of diseases such as insanity, imbecility, epilepsy, drunkenness, deaf-mutism, blindness, cancer, scrofula, tuberculosis, gout, rheumatism, and instinctive criminality. While his facts do not support all of his contentions, they show the interdependence of many of these

¹ "Digest of Fay's Conclusions," Chap. VII.

² "Marriage and Disease," p. 171; see also Boies, "Prisoners and Paupers," pp. 281-282, where a number of Strahan's diagrams of families are reproduced.

diseases. The evidence of other medical men as to the transmissibility of certain neurotic tendencies is unanimous. Dr. Samuel G. Howe, in 1848, collected information showing not only the hereditary tendency to idiocy in certain families, but also the interchangeability of this and other forms of degeneration.

TABLE XVIII.

IDIOCY IN MASSACHUSETTS.

Condensed from Howe's Report, 1848.

Idiotic Persons.	IDIOCY CONGEN- ITAL.	IDIOCY SUPER- VENED.	TOTAL.
Of decidedly Scrofulous Families . . .	365	64	419
Parents Habitual Drunkards	99	15	114
One or Both Parents Idiotic or Insane . .	...	...	60
Parents advised to marry because of Ill- health	12	...	12
Parents Near Relatives (having One to Five Idiotic Children)	17	...	17
Some Relatives Idiotic or Insane	177	34	211
Who have One to Five Near Relatives Idiotic	71	13	84
Who have Five to Ten Near Relatives Idiotic	6	...	6
Who have Ten to Nineteen Near Relatives Idiotic	4	...	4
Parents having Two to Four Idiotic Children	61	5	66
Parents having Five to Nine Idiotic Children	3	...	3
Parents having Eleven Idiotic Children .	...	1	1
Families in which <i>All</i> the Children of One Marriage were Idiotic or Very Puny, while Those of Another Marriage, by the Surviving <i>Healthy</i> Parent with a Healthy Person, were Sound in Body and Mind .	...	...	15
Idiotic Persons who are Parents			11

Table XIX., condensed from Dr. Barr's recent work, shows these same facts more conclusively.

TABLE XIX. — CAUSES OF FEEBLE-MINDEDNESS*

CAUSES.	ENGLISH, 2880 CASES.		AMERICAN-KLWYN, PA., 3000 CASES.		PERCENTAGE BY GROUPS OF CAUSES.	
	PER CENT.	NUMBER.	PER CENT.	NUMBER.	ENGLISH, 1892.	KLWYN, PA., 1904.
I. <i>Acting before Birth</i> :—"hereditary"						
Family history of tuberculosis	12.9	231	7.6	231	41.1	64.8
Family history of insanity	7.4	216	7.1	216		
Family history of imbecility	2.2	885	27.4	885		
Family history of epilepsy alone	3.9	92	3.0	92		
Family history of other neurosis	5.1	79	2.6	79		
Family history of intemperance	7.4	133	4.5	133		
Family history of syphilis . . . . .	.5	6	.2	6		
Family history of consanguinity	1.9	41	1.3	41		
Abnormal condition of mother during gestation, physical or mental	13.6	259	8.5	259	14.4	8.5
Illegitimacy . . . . .	.8					
II. <i>Acting at Birth</i> :						
Premature birth	1.6	34	1.1	34	19.0	2.9
Primogeniture	9.4					
Prolonged parturition	8.0	18	.6	18		
III. <i>Acting after Birth</i> :						
Infantile convulsions	12.2				23.1	32.2
Epilepsy and cerebral affections	3.7					
Paralysis, infantile . . . . .	.4					
Injury to head from falls, blows, etc.	2.8					
Fright or shock (mental)	1.3					
Febrile illness, scarlatina, measles, etc.	2.7					

* Condensed and rearranged from Barr's "Mental Defectives," pp. 33-64.

This table shows that from 40 to 65 per cent of all feeble-mindedness is due to hereditary neuroses, from 8 to 14 per cent to abnormal conditions of the mother during gestation—a total of 55 to 71 per cent due to prenatal influences. Dr. Barr explains that the divergence in the English and American cases between the percentage attributed to hereditary causes and abnormal condition of the mother is more apparent than real. On this point he says : —

“Poverty, hard work, not infrequent intemperance, and many anxieties added to the sufferings of the period (of gestation) might so press upon the mother as for the time to reduce her to a state of quasi-imbecility. If to this she should have brought to her office of motherhood exhausted vitality, such a condition would provide fruitful soil for such a development of neuroses latent in the mother, as to constitute in her offspring almost a direct inheritance of defect.”

Dr. Barr regards tuberculosis as a preëminent cause of defect, in that it lessens all the physical forces and tends to coöperate with any latent neuroses, thus conducing to a condition of “poverty of being” more to be dreaded than the inheritance of actual disease. He finally sums up his view as follows :¹

“The transmission of imbecility is at once the most insidious and the most aggressive of the degenerative forces, attacking alike the physical, mental, and moral nature, enfeebling the judgment and the will, while exaggerating the sexual impulses and the perpetuation of an evil growth ; a growth too often parasitic, ready to unite with any neuroses it may encounter, and from its very sluggishness and inertia refusing to be shaken off, lying latent it may be, but sure to reappear, as Haller recounts, through a century to the fourth and fifth generation.”

Dr. Ireland thinks that idiocy is of all mental derangements the most frequently propagated by descent, and agrees with Dr. Barr that the tubercular diathesis is the influence most likely to conduce to it. He points out that the heredi-

¹ “Mental Defectives,” pp. 95, 102.

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tary predisposition alone is, in most cases, insufficient to be the cause of idiocy without the assistance of other influences, and that these influences act with unusual force upon individuals of a neurotic tendency, and they probably determine whether the resultant disease is to be insanity, epilepsy, or deafness, or some other nervous disorder.¹ Again, we learn that the causes of congenital deafness and of epilepsy are much the same as those of idiocy. If we turn to the authorities on epilepsy, we find them reiterating heredity as the chief cause in from one-fourth to one-half of all cases; and as we have already seen, Dr. Brantwaite adds inebriety to the list of these interdependent neuroses.²

Mr. F. H. Wines, in discussing a class of unbalanced people on the border line of degeneracy, declares that there is a clear connection between crime, pauperism, insanity, and vice of all sorts, and that all persons of these classes have one characteristic in common: incapacity to govern themselves—to hold their appetites, instincts, and passions in firm check under the guidance of sound judgment. These unbalanced people are unfit for social life, they cannot make the necessary adjustments, and often make themselves intolerable to others. He finally concludes: "Self-indulgence, egotistic self-gratification, is the root of bitterness from which springs every social ill. It is the mother of degeneracy."³ Yet the facts just cited would seem to show that it is quite as much the offspring of degeneracy.

When we turn from the palpably defective to measure as accurately as may be the influence of heredity in determining the success or failure of apparently normal individuals, the difficulties are much increased. Homer Folks has remarked that the only experiments which would allow us to test fully the influence of heredity in determining the character of individuals must be made

¹ "Mental Affections of Children," p. 20.

² p. 80 ante.

³ "Unbalanced People," *Charities Review*, vol. v., 1895, pp. 57 ff.

in the cases of infants whose parentage is known and who have been adopted into good homes.¹ The child who is born in an almshouse and grows up there is almost always a pauper, and would probably be so regardless of its heredity, though in such cases the latter agency usually reënforces the influence of environment. The child that grows up in an infant asylum or orphans' home has at most an imperfect opportunity for right development, and the original possibilities of its nature are but faintly reflected by its career. With a child boarded out in a private family, or given to foster parents while still an infant, the conditions of life are better, and more might be inferred if we could compare its characteristics with those of its parents. But usually the facts regarding the parents are matters of inference rather than knowledge, and foster parents are inclined to fix as deep a gulf of ignorance as possible between the child and its progenitors.

Galton has cited the case of D'Alembert, who was a foundling, and put out to nurse as a pauper baby to the wife of a poor glazier: —

“The child's indomitable tendency to the higher studies could not be repressed by his foster-mother's ridicule and dissuasion, nor by the taunts of his schoolfellows, nor by the discouragements of his schoolmaster, who was incapable of appreciating him, nor even by the reiterated, deep disappointment of finding that his ideas, which he knew to be original, were not novel, but long previously discovered by others. Of course we should expect a boy of his kind to undergo ten or more years of apparently hopeless strife, but we should equally expect him to succeed at last; and D'Alembert did succeed in attaining the first rank of celebrity by the time he was twenty-four.”²

But Galton has not many examples of this sort to fortify his belief: —

¹ See discussion, *Charities Review*, vol. ix., Nos. 3 and 4.

² “Hereditary Genius,” pp. 43-44.

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"If the eminent men of any period had been changelings when babies, a very fair proportion of those who survived, and retained their health up to fifty years of age, would, notwithstanding their altered circumstances, have equally risen to eminence."¹

Mr. Ritchie, in commenting on this opinion, suggests that while it might be true that restless, energetic natures, like D'Alembert or Lord Brougham, would make their way up in spite of all obstacles, it may be doubted if such would be the case with a nature like that of Charles Darwin. He suggests that under many circumstances the struggle for existence may be so severe that strength is exhausted, even in the man of ability.²

Since there are no data concerning infants of known descent to warrant any final conclusions as to the force of heredity in pushing the individual away from pauperism or toward it, two other methods of observation, less conclusive but more practicable, have been resorted to. The first is to study the family relations of a large number of conspicuously successful or unsuccessful persons, and learn as far as possible what influence heredity has had in bringing about success or failure. The second method is to study the careers of all the children of a family whose members are in general conspicuous for success or failure, in order to see whether or not the manifest tendency can be accounted for by the influence of environment. This second method is, for the most part, only a way of checking the results obtained by the first. As examples of the first we may summarize, (a) the investigations of Galton regarding relationships of the English judges, and of Woods into the heredity of royalty; (b) Booth's summary of the "Stories of Stepney Pauperism"; (c) the investigation of the almshouse population of New York. As illustrating the results to be got by the second method, some account is given of the study of the Jukes of New York and the Ishmaels of Indiana.

¹ "Hereditary Genius," p. 38.

² "Darwinism and Politics," p. 51.

Mr. Galton undertook a study of the English judges between the accession of Charles II. and the year 1864. He found that a very large number of these men were related one to another, and an analysis of the facts showed that a very eminent man was more likely to have eminent relations than one who had attained a less degree of success. Out of the two hundred and eighty-six judges, more than one in every nine had been either father, son, or brother to another judge, and the other high legal relationships had been even more numerous. "There cannot remain a doubt," he declares, "but that the peculiar type of ability that is necessary to a judge is often transmitted by descent."

Of the persistence of capacity in certain families he says:—

"The names of North and Montagu, among the judges, introduce us to a remarkable breed of eminent men, set forth at length in the genealogical tree of the Montagus, and again that of the Sydneys (see the chapter on "Literary Men"), to whose natural history — if the expression be permitted — a few pages may be profitably assigned. There is hardly a name in those pedigrees which is not more than ordinarily eminent; many are illustrious. They are closely tied together in their kinship, and they extend through ten generations. The main roots of this diffused ability lie in the families of Sydney and Montagu, and, in a lesser degree, in that of North."

F. A. Woods, in a recent study of "Mental and Moral Heredity in Royalty," while avoiding some of Galton's scientific errors, has corroborated his general conclusions. Professor Woods has taken individuals merely by blood relationship and included every one about whom anything could be found. His estimates of their mental and moral qualities are based on the adjectives used in describing them by historians and biographers, and are expressed in a series of grades from one to ten, *i.e.* low to high, for intellect and morals separately. The accompanying table shows briefly his most important results:—

TABLE XX.
CORRELATION OF MENTAL AND MORAL QUALITIES
in 608 Royal Persons.*

GRADES FOR VIRTUE.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Average Intellectual Grades	3.92	4.34	5.43	5.51	5.29	5.66	5.87	6.37	6.66	7.32

* p. 258.

The persons whose grade for virtue was as low, for instance, as 3, averaged 5.43 for intellect, but in proportion as the grades for virtue rose, the grades for intellect averaged higher.

Woods concludes not merely from these figures but from the history of these persons which he carefully investigated that: (1) there is a very distinct correlation in royalty between mental and moral qualities; (2) analyzing all grades, the higher grades for virtues possess a higher average of intellectual grading, and this rise is almost perfectly uniform for both male and female groups taken separately; (3) among royalty, where large families are always desired, maximum fertility, on the whole, runs hand in hand with general superiority, when tested by the number of children who reached the age of twenty-one years; (4) the rich are not more vicious than the poor, and as to morality, royalty does not make a bad showing.

While thus corroborating Galton's general conclusions, Woods goes much farther when he says:—

"The greater survival of the morally superior and the correlation between mental and moral qualities . . . would always tend toward raising their average, if all be considered as a unit and if all branches of descent be traced out; though great and exceptional geniuses might be less frequently expected. . . . In the inheritance of mental and moral excellence we see ground for a belief in the necessary progress of mankind."

In contrast to these instances of conspicuously successful families the following details of the degenerate Rooney family are reprinted from Charles Booth's "Stories of Stepney Pauperism": —

"Martin Rooney, aged 85, now in Bromley Workhouse, married Eliza King, and this family has been prolific in paupers.

"First there is Mary Rooney, the wife of Martin's brother James, who was deserted by him in 1867, and has had relief in various forms since, including residence in the sick asylum for several years. She also applied on behalf of her married daughter, Mrs. Wilson, and her son Michael appears on the books; but with this branch we do not go at present beyond the second generation.

"The old man Martin, who is now blind, applied for admission in 1878. His wife was then in hospital, having broken her leg when intoxicated. He had been a dock laborer, and had received £21 from the company on breaking a leg in 1857. He was admitted to Poplar Workhouse. A month later his wife, who is twenty-four years his junior, came out of hospital, and was also admitted. The relieving officer makes a note that he does not know a more drunken, disreputable family than this one. He has seen the woman 'beastly drunk' at all times of the day. From this time the old man remains in the house; but the woman goes out several times, and when out, was more than once seen in the streets in a drunken condition. She works sometimes at the lead-works, sleeping occasionally with her sons, at other times in various places — water-closets, on stairs, etc. When her son Patrick was sent to prison for two months, she went into the house. In 1888 she absconded, but in March, 1889, applied for readmission; she had fallen down and cut her face on the Saturday night before.

"This couple had three children, Patrick, James, and Bridget. Patrick, born in 1853, by trade a stevedore, is now in Poplar Workhouse. He was living with his mother in 1886, and she made application for medical attendance for him. He was suffering from rheumatism. He became worse, and was sent to the sick asylum; was discharged, and again admitted a month or two later. Next year he was sent to Bromley Workhouse. He bears a bad character, and was in prison two months in 1888, and had one month in 1889 for attempting to steal some ropes. On coming out of prison he again applied for admission to the workhouse, and was sent to Poplar. He had a bad leg. He got work on the day he was discharged from the

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sick asylum, injured his leg, and was readmitted to workhouse. He served fourteen or fifteen years in the Royal Marines, and was discharged in 1885 for striking a petty officer. He was for this sentenced to six months' imprisonment by court-martial.

"James, the second son, is a laborer, not married. He used to live with a woman named O'Reill, but left her, or she him, and is at present living with another woman.

"Bridget, the eldest, born in 1847, married John Murdock, a brick-layer's laborer, eight years older than herself, and there are four children, all boys. Murdock deserted his wife several times, and has been sent to prison for it. She in turn left him in 1877, and has been living with another man since. After this he was in Bromley House with the children. The two eldest were emigrated to Canada in 1880. The man's sister married Richard Bardsley, whose mother, a widow, is living at Bromley, and whose brother and brother's wife both had relief there." ¹

Another degenerate group is described in the study of the inmates of the almshouses of New York, made by representatives of the State Board of Charities in the early seventies. At that time many insane and many children and many of the defective classes were still in the local almshouses. In the rural communities it was found possible to get information as to the relationships of these persons with tolerable fulness, while in the cities little could be learned bearing upon the subject. Although the classes under investigation are those in which the ties of relationship are peculiarly loose and untraceable, yet it was found possible to collect very conclusive facts as to the influence of heredity in perpetuating pauperism. Of the 12,614 persons examined, it was ascertained that 397, or nearly 3.15 per cent, were the offspring of pauper fathers; 1361, or 10.79 per cent, of pauper mothers. The dependence dated back to the third generation in 55 cases on the paternal, and 92 cases on the maternal side. 1122 had (living or dead) pauper brothers; 951, pauper sisters; 143, pauper uncles; and 133, pauper aunts.

¹ "Pauperism," pp. 14-15; see also for similar stories, pp. 18-43.

The total number of families was 10,161. The total number of persons in these families, including three generations (living and dead) who were known to have been dependent upon public charity, was 14,901. The total number of the insane in the same families (living and dead), 4968; the total number of idiots in the same families (living and dead), 844; and the total number of inebriates in the same families (living and dead), 8863. The number of heads of families in the poorhouses at the time of inquiry, consisting of both parents, was 2746; these were said to have in all 7040 living children. The condition of these children were stated to be as follows: in poorhouses, 1010; in asylums, 149; in hospitals, 2; in refuges, 29; in prisons and penitentiaries, 9; bound out, 346; self-supporting, 4586; condition unascertained, 909. Thus about 22 per cent of the children of poorhouse parents were found to be of the dependent or delinquent classes. Taking only those whose condition was ascertained, the percentage of those who were a charge upon the public rises to a little more than 25. It should also be noted that a considerable number of those self-dependent at the time would probably with advancing years become public charges; and while some of those in a condition of dependency would perhaps eventually become self-supporting, they would hardly become so as a permanent thing. It is doubtful if half these children would get through life without some taint of dependency.

Two investigations have been made in this country into the histories of individuals descended from distinctly pauper families.¹

The first, conducted by Mr. R. L. Dugdale, concerning the family of the Jukes, doubtless included many of the same persons or their progenitors as those found in the New

¹ An investigation of a similar character in Germany is referred to in N. C. C., 1897, p. 236.

York almshouses in 1875.¹ The Juke family has been traced back to a man whom Dugdale calls Max, a descendant of the early Dutch settlers, born between the years 1720 and 1740. He is described as a hunter and fisher, a hard drinker, jolly and companionable, averse to steady toil, working hard by spurts and idling by turns, becoming blind in his old age, and entailing his blindness upon his children and grandchildren. Two of his sons married two of the Juke sisters, of whom there were six in all. The progeny of five of them have been traced with more or less exactness through five generations. The number of descendants registered includes 540 individuals who were related by blood to the Jukes, and 169 connected with the family by marriage or cohabitation; in all 709 persons of all ages, alive and dead. The aggregate of this lineage reaches, says Mr. Dugdale, probably 1200 persons, but the dispersions that have occurred at different times have prevented the following up and enumeration of many of the lateral branches. They grew up in the rural districts of New York, and outdoor life probably aided the degenerate stock to resist the tendencies to extinction. The family, as indicated by the statement of its origin, may be considered distinctly American.

From the statistical summary of the facts collated by Mr. Dugdale, it appears that, whether we consider pauperism, or crime, or harlotry, or prostitution, this family produced a number of dependents and delinquents out of all proportion to the numbers of individuals it contributed to the population. For instance, taking only the cases of ascertained dependence in the Juke family, it is shown that pauperism was nearly seven times as common in this family as in the population of the state at large. Under the head of X, Mr. Dugdale classes all families not related to the Jukes who

¹ Dugdale, "The Jukes" (1888), out of print; a summary of this paper will be found in N. C. C., 1877, pp. 81-95. The Jukes were the descendants of Ada Juke, better known as Margaret, the Mother of Criminals.

married into the family ; taking people of the Juke blood simply, pauperism was 7.37 times as common among them as in the population as a whole ; taking X blood only, that is, those families that married into the Juke family, pauperism was only 4.89 times as common as in the total population. Of the adult women of Juke blood 52.40 per cent are found to have been harlots, while only 41.76 per cent of the women of the X blood were found to be such. Turning to the matter of crime, there are within the family itself some distinctly criminal and some distinctly pauper strains. Intermarriage between people of the Juke blood, that is, breeding within the family, intensified the tendency to pauperism, while marriage with non-related stocks usually resulted in a larger proportion of criminals among the descendants. This is probably to be accounted for by the greater constitutional vigor that resulted from marriage with non-related groups. Since pauperism rests upon weakness of some sort, the tendency to degeneration is intensified by in-and-in breeding.

Leaving the basis of ascertained fact, Mr. Dugdale tried to calculate the cost to society of the entire family of the Jukes, assuming that they number about twelve hundred persons of characters similar to the careers of those he had ascertained. He estimated that in seventy-five years the family cost the community over a million and a quarter of dollars, without reckoning the cash paid for whiskey, or taking into account the entailment of pauperism, crime, and disease of the survivors in succeeding generations.

The second investigation of a group of pauper relatives by Oscar C. McCulloch, of Indianapolis, was suggested by Mr. Dugdale's study of the Jukes, and modelled in some sort after that study, but it has not the scientific accuracy or completeness of its model. The following passage from "*The Tribe of Ishmael*"¹ characterizes the family sufficiently for our purpose : —

¹ McCulloch, N. C. C., 1888 ; see also Wright on "*Marriage Relationships in the Tribe of Ishmael*," N. C. C., 1890, p. 435.

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“Members of this extensive group have had a pauper record in Indianapolis since 1840. They have been in the almshouse, the House of Refuge, the Woman's Reformatory, the penitentiaries, and have received continuous aid from the township. The Ishmaels are intermarried with 250 other families of similar habits and tendencies. In the family history are murders, a large number of illegitimacies, and out of the 1692 individuals whose cases have been investigated, 121 are known to have been prostitutes. The members of the family are generally diseased. The children often die young. They live by petty stealing, begging, ash-gathering. In summer they ‘gypsy,’ or travel in wagons east or west. We hear of them in Illinois about Decatur, and in Ohio about Columbus. In the fall they return. They have been known to live in hollow trees on the river-bottoms, or in empty houses. Strangely enough they are not intemperate. The individuals already traced are over 5000, interwoven by descent and marriage. They underrun society like devil-grass.”

Of this pauper family, Mr. McCulloch said he had seen three generations of beggars among them; each child tended to revert to the same life when taken away, and he knew of only one who had escaped and become an honorable man.

If the results of these five studies — two of conspicuously successful, and three of conspicuously degenerate groups — should be accepted at their apparent face value, the conclusion would be inevitable that heredity is the determining factor in any career; and yet a critical examination of them will show a number of sources of error. The first of these is the loose and confusing use of the term “heredity.” *Heredity*, as commonly used, means that which the individual has at birth; but this equipment, according to the scientist, is from two sources: ancestral, that is, that which he receives from the uniting germ-cells of his parents, and second, that contributed by his mother during the period of gestation. In the table on p. 99 it appears that from 8 to 14 per cent of all feeble-mindedness is the result of the inadequacy of the mother, and it is not denied that a large part of this is due to poverty and unhappiness of her environment. Although a transmitted

quality, it may be due to environment rather than heredity.

In such studies the fact is often ignored that the child inherits, in most cases, an environment that tends to perpetuate his innate qualities. Mr. Booth, in his study of Stepney pauperism, could not separate "pauper heredity and association." The children of the Rooneys, the Jukes, and the Ishmaels, unless removed at birth from family associations, had no chance whatever of escaping a degenerate career. Contrariwise, the royal babies had not only the best physical care, but every opportunity for education, and — most important of all — they were disciplined and guarded by superior people.

Again, confessedly, in most of these studies, no account is taken of the members of the family of whom nothing was known. Mr. Dugdale ascertained something of the history of 709 individuals, but in estimating the cost of this family to the state of New York he "assumed" that 500 more, of whom he knew nothing, were equally degenerate. It is an assumption equally tenable that the reason they could not be found was because they had escaped from their wretched environment and had been absorbed in the decent but inconspicuous average. In the study of New York almshouse inmates, 10,000 families were represented, and 14,000 persons were known to have been dependent in three generations; but the sum total of persons in these families in the first generation alone could not be less than 50,000 persons. In one generation, therefore, the unknown element is more than twice the number of the known. But perhaps the most fundamental error underlying the deductions commonly made from such studies is that heredity and environment are independent forces, each impelling the individual in a different direction. Of the contradictory notions about the relation of society to the individual, arising from this erroneous conception, Professor Charles H. Cooley says:—

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"A man's nature is like a seed, and his circumstances like the soil and climate in which the seed germinates and grows; the co-working of the two is indispensable to every vital process whatever, and they are so different in their functions that they cannot without inaccuracy be said to be in opposition. It would be absurd to ask whether the seed or the soil predominates in the formation of the tree. . . . Rather we may say that a child—to improve a little on the first comparison—is like a vine whose nature is to grow, but to grow not in any pre-determined direction, as east or west, up or down, but along whatever support it finds within reach. We have emulation by nature, but the direction in which emulation will lead us depends entirely upon the ideals suggested to us by our social experience. The well-nurtured boy emulates his own father and George Washington, but the child of a criminal, for precisely similar reasons, emulates *his* father and Blinkey Morgan or some other illustrious rascal. It is not necessary to suppose any organic difference between the two. . . .

"The point is, that a social career is not the sum and resultant of two forces similar in kind but more or less opposite in direction; it comes by the intimate union and coöperation of forces unlike in kind and hence not comparable in direction or magnitude. So soon as a child is born, the nature he brings with him begins to unite with the world into which he comes to form an indivisible product; that is to say, a character and a career. The union of nature and nurture is not one of addition or mixture but of growth, whereby the elements are altogether transformed into a new organic whole. One's nature acts selectively upon the environment, assimilating materials proper to itself; while at the same time the environment moulds the nature, and habits are formed which make the individual independent, in some degree, of changes in either.

"It may seem that one does, after all, select the objects of his imitation and emulation, and that in this way the individual nature determines its own destiny as moral or criminal. But this is only true with many limitations and conditions. Some of us are much freer than others and some periods of life afford more freedom than other periods; but no man at any time has anything like unrestricted freedom in the choice of the influences that control his life. A real freedom cannot exist until the individual is born into a world where there is opportunity for the development of his highest faculties through access to all the necessary influences. There are many children now growing up who are no more free to choose a moral career than an American baby is free to speak the Chinese language."¹

¹ "Nature *vs.* Nurture," etc., N. C. C., 1896, pp. 399 ff.

It must be concluded that the attempt to attribute the social career of an individual chiefly to heredity on the one hand or to circumstances on the other, and to apportion to each an approximate per cent of influence, is a matter of scientific interest rather than practical value at the present time to those engaged in social reforms. That there are children so instinctively degenerate that neither instruction nor discipline can restore them to normality, is certainly true; but their number is relatively very small. It is even more certain that a large part of the degeneration which is dealt with by philanthropy could have been mitigated, if not wholly prevented, by a good environment. Professor Woods, in the endeavor to explain the overweening influence of heredity in the case of royalty, suggests that it may be that environment is most powerful in the lowest orders of nature, and that heredity becomes more and more influential in the higher orders. Whatever may be thought of this hypothesis it is undoubtedly true that the standard of fitness for those who are to survive and the environment which is to intensify or nullify their heredity tendencies are both within the control of a civilized society, and consequently, subject to change and improvement.

CHAPTER IV.

SOME CHARACTERISTIC SOCIAL CAUSES OF DEGENERATION.

IN order to give any complete view of the social and industrial influences which tend to push the individual below the poverty line, it would be necessary to review nearly the whole of political economy, descriptive and theoretical; but we shall concern ourselves at present only with some of the more conspicuous external conditions which produce incapacity and degeneration in the individual. We must therefore pass by without consideration all the poverty-begetting causes that reside in the fluctuation of the purchasing power of money, although many concrete examples could be given of families pushed from the propertied class even across the pauper line by this influence. Neither can we concern ourselves with those changes in industry which have displaced large numbers of individuals, although presumably benefiting the community as a whole, and even laborers as a class. Neither can we take up the undue power of class over class, although it results in conditions which tend to degeneration in the individual, and may push him below the line of self-dependence; but our view for the most part must be limited to the direct influence of occupation and uncertain employment upon health, character, and capacity.

The economic saving which could be made by the conservation of human strength, the prolongation of life, and the prevention of disease, has recently been demonstrated statistically by Frederick Hoffmann. He estimates that the average annual net gain to society of each male wage-earner

employed in manufacturing and mechanical industries is three hundred dollars; and has collated the approximate value of workmen of different grades of efficiency for the years from 15 to 65. Table XXI. condensed from this calculation will serve to illustrate the principle.

TABLE XXI.

THE ECONOMIC VALUE OF INDUSTRIAL LABOR AND LIFE.*

AGE.	I. ESTIMATED AVERAGE ANNUAL ECONOMIC GAIN, \$ 200.		II. ESTIMATED AVERAGE ANNUAL ECONOMIC GAIN, \$ 300.		III. ESTIMATED AVERAGE ANNUAL ECONOMIC GAIN, \$ 500.	
	Annual Net Economic Gain.	Estimated Future Economic Value.	Annual Net Economic Gain.	Estimated Future Economic Value.	Annual Net Economic Gain.	Estimated Future Economic Value.
15	\$ 50	\$10,000	\$ 75	\$15,000	\$ 90	\$25,000
20	100	9,650	130	14,505	200	24,275
25	170	8,980	225	13,695	400	22,950
30	250	8,015	350	12,320	600	20,625
35	300	6,590	400	10,395	675	17,425
40	300	5,090	400	8,395	675	14,050
45	300	3,590	400	6,395	650	10,735
50	275	2,090	380	4,405	625	7,485
55	150	965	330	2,600	540	4,575
60	80	325	260	1,090	475	1,975
64	50	50	170	170	300	300

* *Am. Jour. of Soc.*, vol. xxvii., p. 485.

From this theoretical estimate it is possible to calculate the economic loss due to premature death or impaired efficiency as the result of illness. If the wage-earner should die at the age of 35, the net loss to society would be, according to his wage-earning capacity, \$6590, or \$10,395, or \$17,425. In addition to this there is the strain on the family resources for medical and funeral expenses, and if the family is driven to apply for charity, there is the cost of

relief. Rowntree ascertained that 15 per cent of the primary poverty in York was due to the death or disability of the wage-earner; at least 25 per cent of the applicants for relief in cities in the United States are widows, and in 20 per cent of all cases treated by the New York Charity Organization Society in 1905, a part of the relief given was to improve the physical condition of the family. The total economic loss and expense entailed upon society by the death or disability of an adult wage-earner is from ten to twenty thousand dollars. Even a man of sixty is potentially worth one thousand dollars to society in economic gain, not to speak of his greater value to his family.

A relatively small but permanent condition of industry in modern times, which tends to produce a residual class, is the rising standard of efficiency. An increasing amount of heavy work formerly done by men is now done by machinery. Although there may be ultimately an increase in the number of laborers employed in industries in which this takes place, yet not all the workmen once employed in them can find a place. Professor Seligman says: —

“The immediate result is often a temporary over-supply in the particular trade and the discharge of workmen who for the time being, and until they finally drift to new openings, swell the ranks of the unemployed. One of the most serious problems of the modern industrial system is how to mitigate the evils of this transition period.”¹

Another phase of a rising standard of efficiency which excludes the least competent, especially the foreign immigrants in America, is the swifter pace demanded of workmen. In any group of laborers, as in draught horses, the gait has been adjusted to the hours of labor required and the expenditure of energy demanded.

In proportion as machine processes supersede the heavier manual processes, and as the hours of labor are shortened,

¹ “Principles of Economics,” p. 299; Alden, “The Unemployed,” p. 66; Hermann, “Oekonomische Fragen und Probleme der Gegenwart.”

the pace is quickened — men must think faster in order to tend machinery, as a rule, than to perform manual labor. Among a body of laborers accustomed in their own country to manual labor, there will always be a certain number who cannot speed themselves up to the intensity required in America. Mere strength and sinew, if not accompanied by the adaptability of a high nervous organization, may, therefore, be at a discount in the modern labor market.¹

Along with these tendencies has come the formation of trades unions. The development of modern industry has forced higher organization; and just as Franklin said to the thirteen colonies, so now the conditions of industry say to the laborer, "join or die." Those who in consequence of conditions or character cannot organize, and who for the most part belong to the ranks of low-skilled labor, find it constantly more and more difficult to maintain themselves. Although at the start they may have possessed a degree of efficiency that formerly would have won them place and living, they are now unable to get work, and through involuntary idleness their incapacity is intensified and perpetuated.

The most palpable means by which occupation lessens the capacity of the individual is accident. The industry in which this is most conspicuous is transportation, and no country in the world offers more illustrations of such injury to railroad employees than the United States, as will be seen by reference to Table XXII.

The figures vary from year to year. For example, Denmark's railways killed no passengers in 1903-1904, but did kill one for 1904-1905. Tasmania killed none in 1903 and Victoria only one to twenty million journeys.

¹ See also on effect of speeding up machinery, O'Connell, *Jour. of Soc.*, vol. xxvii., p. 491; greater tension in glass-blowing, Hayes, p. 496.

TABLE XXII.

RAILWAY ACCIDENTS,* 1902-1904.

	PASSENGERS.		EMPLOYEES.	
	Killed, 1 in	Injured, 1 in	Killed, 1 in	Injured, 1 in
United States . .	1,957,441	84,424	364	22
Great Britain . .	8,073,000	445,000	736	88
Germany . . .	11,701,354	2,113,471	1199	451
Belgium . . .	38,151,178	431,937	2266	98
Austria-Hungary	9,432,303	1,328,551	1908	863
France	5,260,000	1,052,000	954	355
Switzerland . .	12,237,515	849,820	1070	42
Denmark . . .	18,935,151	9,467,000	...	...
Norway	7,690,000	4,350,000	...	...
Sweden	6,667,000	3,450,000	...	...
Russia	1,080,000	250,000	...	...
Spain	2,000,000	308,000	...	...
Canada	1,120,000	158,000	...	...
Victoria . . .	20,000,000	208,000	...	...
Tasmania . . .	...	271,000	...	...
New South Wales	5,000,000	589,000	...	...
South Australia .	6,667,000	2,500,000	...	...

* Parsons, "The Railways," etc., p. 444.

Mr. Parsons comments as follows upon these figures : —

" It appears from these figures that railroad travel is safest in Denmark, Norway, Sweden, Belgium, Germany, Switzerland, Austria-Hungary, and Australia, that it is more dangerous in Great Britain than in any of the above-named countries, and that in the United States it is most dangerous of all ; about six times as dangerous as in Germany, seventeen times as dangerous as in Belgium, three times as dangerous as in France, and four times as dangerous as in Great Britain. . . . In the United States the control by the law is not effective, and we see . . . the tendency to look first, last, and all the time at the cost and to avoid the expenditure necessary to abolish grade crossings, etc., if they think it will be cheaper to pay damages."

Many of these accidents occur because the railway companies do not wish to go to the expense of newer equipment,

such as block signals and automatic couplers; and others because of excessively long hours of labor, reaching, in emergencies, even to twenty or thirty hours of continuous duty. Not the least serious aspect of these injuries is the fact that railway employees are comparatively young men, at the age of highest economic value to their families and to the state.

One of the largest Life Insurance Companies in the United States estimates the fatal accident rate, as a whole, from 80 to 85 to every 100,000 of the population. The percentage of fatal to total accidents varies from 2.1 in factory labor to 40.2 per cent in accidents from boiler explosions. Assuming that 25 are injured to one killed on the average, there is the result that not less than 1,600,000 persons are killed or injured annually in this country. And this does not take into account minor accidents. It seems to be the experience of accident insurance companies that the ratio of fatal to non-fatal accidents claims are as one to one hundred.¹

Many of these cases were probably provided for by benefit associations maintained by the men or by the relief work of the companies; but such relief is always partial and temporary, and of course makes no atonement to the industry of the country as a whole for the amount of personal capacity destroyed. It would not usually be easy to trace pauperism in a given case to an accident on a railroad, although the author has himself been called to deal with some cases of destitution resulting directly from such accidents; but frequently pauperism does not result until years afterwards, when a widowed mother has broken down in the attempt to support her family, or when some aged or incapable relative has been turned adrift from the incapacity of the family to maintain him longer.

In 1907 Francis H. McLean made a report of a detailed investigation of 736 cases of industrial accident leading to dependency, which had come to the notice of charitable

¹ Hunter, "Poverty," Appendix, pp. 344-345.

societies. The nature of these disabilities is shown in the following list:¹ —

Trade disease	18
Building	82
Electrical	5
Transportation	25
Machinery	76
Street (drivers and messengers)	37
Dock work	11
Explosions	2
Elevator (attendants only)	7
Blasting	18
Lifting, strains, blows (result hernia)	388
Miscellaneous	77
	<hr/> 736

It is of special significance that about one-half of these accidents occurred to men under 40, belonging to the unskilled trades, whose wages were less than \$15 per week. Of the total number 421, or 57 per cent, were permanently disabled: Amputation of fingers and toes, 7; amputation of legs, feet, hands, or arms, 20; brain injured, 10; partially crippled, 8; paralyzed, 5; blinded, 53; permanently injured by lead poisoning, 2; spine injured, 2; internal injuries, 3; loss of hearing, 1; deaf and dumb, 1; hernia resulting in partial loss of wage-earning ability, at least 250; insane, 21; killed, 45. What the inevitable cost of public and private relief for these persons and their families would be, it is impossible to estimate, but there had been spent already an average of \$50 per person in 92 cases; 111 had received hospital care for periods of one month to one year, 53 blind and 20 insane persons must be supported, and there were varying amounts of medical expenditure for all the remainder. But this is not all; there was a marked deterioration in a considerable number of families, resulting from these injuries, shown in chronic dependency, intemperance not

¹ Report to N. Y. State Conf. of Charities and Corrections, 1907, published in part in "Charities and the Commons," vol. xix., pp. 1203 ff.

before present, lowering of standards of living, widow's health broken, family disrupted, habits of begging developed, savings used, furniture pawned, and families evicted.

Accidents in mining, though very common, have not been statistically tabulated as thoroughly as railway injuries. The occurrence of four mining disasters within a period of less than three weeks, in December, 1907, in which alone 650 persons were killed, will illustrate the economic loss in wage-earning capacity and the consequent burden of dependence. In one town of 3000 inhabitants the monthly wage cut off amounted to \$17,500; 130 resident families and probably 120 families in the old country were left without means of support.

It is acknowledged that a large part of the injuries incident to such occupations as transportation, mining, and factory labor are preventable, and if there were as much direct profit in life-protecting devices as there is in inventions for economy of production, the number of such catastrophes would rapidly decline. With the aspects of prevention and compensation we are not at the moment concerned, but there is already promise of remedy in legislation making employers liable in industrial insurance and in propositions for workingmen's compensation, the cost of which will be added to the expense of production and finally borne by the consumer.

There is a destruction of personal capacity and a strong tendency to degeneration in a large number of occupations because of the disease-begetting conditions that surround the work. Much more has been done in England and European countries in searching out the source of diseases that have their origin in occupation than in this country. From the time Ramazzini published his memorable work, "*De Morbis Artificum Diatriba*," in the latter part of the seventeenth century, to Dr. Arlidge's "*Diseases of Occupations*," published in 1892, and the weighty volume on "*Dangerous*

Trades" by Thomas Oliver and his collaborators in 1902, there has been a series of careful studies of the disease-engendering conditions of the trades and professions.

In this country, however, only a few of the labor bureaus have investigated this feature of the conditions of labor. Among the first to do so carefully was the New Jersey Bureau of Labor Statistics, and the results appear in its Annual Reports for 1889, 1890, and 1891. The effect of occupations upon the health and duration of the trade life of workmen was traced in three industries — pottery, hat-making, and glass-blowing. As specimens of the facts brought to light by the investigation of these trades may be cited that of pot-makers, who prepare the pots in which the raw material for glass is melted. These pots are made of fine clay, which requires a great deal of care in its preparation, involving grinding, pulverizing the dry clay, its mixture, and tempering. At that time little attention was paid to the improvement of the machinery in use and the buildings in which these processes were conducted, so as to keep the workmen from inhaling the dust. As a consequence, from ten to fifteen years was about the length of time a man could work at the trade continuously in health. The report of the same Bureau in 1905 shows a most encouraging decline of the worst conditions in this dangerous trade. While there are a few establishments in which "lead colic," "potter's asthma," and tuberculosis, the characteristic diseases of this occupation, are still produced by antiquated methods of manufacture, and by excessive dust, in the majority of them the trade is now fairly healthful. It is particularly significant that in proportion as the trade has become less deadly, intemperance has declined among the employees.

In recent years the Massachusetts State Board of Health has made a careful investigation of conditions affecting

health or safety of employees¹ in a large number of occupations. The textile industries, in which Massachusetts stands first in point of production, employ more women and minors than men and are generally regarded as unhealthful because of irritating dust which tends to produce disease of the lungs. In the mill towns it appears, however, that the death-rates of mill operatives are not abnormally high, nor do the general death-rates of these towns compare unfavorably with those of towns engaged in other lines of industry. Of the 93 manufacturing establishments investigated, 19 carry on their manufacture under nearly ideal conditions, and 23 under conditions designated as good; moderately bad conditions prevail in 35, and distinctly bad in 16; in all of the two latter classes, the report declares, marked improvement is possible without unreasonable expenditure. The unwholesome conditions in these establishments consist of poor light, impure air, non-regulation of artificial moisture (i.e. excess of moisture and undue heat or no artificial moisture and excessive heat), more or less dust (some "infectious" dust), lack of cleanliness, and poor ventilation. In this report, as in almost every other on the same subject, mention is made of the reckless indifference of the employees themselves to ordinary hygienic precautions, even when prescribed as rules of the factory. This apathy of workmen and the neglect of employers have made it necessary for the state to interfere and fix the plane of competition below which employers are not allowed to go nor workmen to permit themselves to be employed. The Massachusetts Board of Health proposes that when there is any question as to the interpretation of the law requiring factories to be well lighted, clean, and sanitary, the inspectors shall use as a standard the conditions existing in those factories carrying on a similar business, in similar buildings, where the health, safety, and welfare of the working people are *most completely protected*.

¹ Reports, 1905 and 1907.

The influence of occupation upon health may be studied by means of mortality statistics, especially those of occupational mortality and morbidity. It is generally recognized that there is a higher death-rate among laboring classes than among the well-to-do, but a careful search among statistics collected by American bureaus of labor and for the Federal census shows that we have no vital statistics that are a safe guide in considering occupational mortality. This results from the fact that a person frequently changes his occupation before death. Thus, if we were to take the average age of students at death, it would be very low; but this would not prove that it was unhealthful to be a student, but only that nearly all students are comparatively young—those that die included. The average age at death of judges must manifestly be greater than that of lawyers, irrespective of the healthfulness of the two occupations. The average age at death of almshouse paupers would be very high. In the case of female operatives the low average is no doubt partly due to the fact that many women leave the mills after the cares of a family come to them, and if they die in extreme old age as the mothers of families, their early service in the mills is forgotten; whereas, if they had died young, while in the mills, their cases would have helped to keep down the average age at death of female operatives.

English statisticians have been giving much attention to this subject for a generation. Dr. Farr gives the data for the following table as to the number surviving at certain age-periods in certain occupations.

According to this calculation, which is based upon very wide inductions, the most unhealthful business is that of an innkeeper, or, as we would say, saloon-keeper. This illustrates again the interaction of personal and occupational causes of degeneration. Next to this comes the business of the butcher, and so on up, the most healthful occupation being that of a farmer.

TABLE XXIII.*

NUMBER LIVING AT STATED AGES OUT OF 1000 LIVING AT AGE 25.

	AGES.			
	35.	45.	55.	60.
Farmer	898.5	821.19	780.06	639.54
Shoemaker	908.8	812.45	690.65	591.64
Weaver	920.3	822.78	696.04	581.20
Grocer	923.7	826.68	696.02	617.38
Blacksmith	918.8	804.84	672.02	547.02
Carpenter	905.5	812.18	676.58	576.38
Tailor	883.7	758.17	631.58	544.10
Laborer	902.1	789.35	652.85	557.51
Miner	915.1	810.79	646.97	535.69
Baker *	924.1	787.35	620.51	518.04
Butcher	887.0	740.64	569.47	451.41
Innkeeper	861.7	684.99	491.13	395.38

* Based on table given by William Farr, "Vital Statistics," p. 397.

Another table (see p. 127) based on English experience gives a much wider range of occupations, taking the rate of clergymen as 100 for a basis of comparison.

It will be seen that the mortality in different industries varies widely; if the mortality of clergymen, for instance, be taken as one hundred, that of men engaged in earthenware manufacture is three times as great and of inn and hotel servants almost four times as great. Dr. Ogle grouped the causes of high mortality under the following general heads:—

1. Working in a cramped or constrained attitude, as silk-weavers.
2. Exposure to the action of poisonous or irritating sub-

TABLE XXIV.

COMPARATIVE MORTALITY IN CERTAIN OCCUPATIONS.*

OCCUPATION.	COMPARATIVE MORTALITY.	OCCUPATION.	COMPARATIVE MORTALITY.
<i>Clergymen, Priests, Ministers</i>	100	Carpenters, Joiners	148
Lawyers	152	Cabinet-makers, Upholsterers	173
Medical Men	202	Plumbers, Painters, Glaziers	216
Gardeners	108	Blacksmiths	175
Farmers	114	Engine, Machine, Boiler Makers	155
Agricultural Laborers . .	126	Silk Manufacture	152
Fishermen	143	Wool, Worsted Manufacture	186
Commercial Clerks . . .	179	Cotton Manufacture . .	196
Commercial Travellers . .	171	Cutlers, Scissors-makers .	229
Innkeepers, Liquor Dealers	274	Gunsmiths	186
Inn, Hotel Service . . .	397	File-makers	300
Brewers	245	Paper-makers	129
Butchers	211	Glass-workers	214
Bakers	172	Earthenware-makers . .	314
Coru Millers	172	Coal Miners	160
Grocers	139	Cornish Miners	331
Drapers	159	Stone, Slate Quarries . .	202
Shopkeepers generally . .	158	Cab, Omnibus Service . .	267
Tailors	189	Railway, Road, Laborers .	185
Shoemakers	166	Costermongers, Hawkers, Street Sellers	308
Hatters	192		
Printers	193		
Bookbinders	210		
Builders, Masons, Bricklayers	174		

* Calculation made by Dr. Ogle for 1880-1881 and reproduced in Mayo-Smith, "Statistics and Sociology," p. 165.

stances, such as phosphorus, mercury, lead, or infected hair or wool, as dippers of lucifer matches, hatters, file-makers.

3. Excessive work, mental or physical, especially such as involves sudden strains, as among fishermen. •

4. Working in confined or foul air, as tailors, printers.

5. The effect of alcoholic drinks, as innkeepers, spirit dealers.

6. Liability of fatal accidents, as miners.

7. Inhalation of dust, increasing the mortality from phthisis and diseases of the lungs; the effect varying greatly, according to amount and character of dust; most injurious is metallic dust, as in cutlery, and dust of stone, as in pottery-making.

A recent study made by Dr. John Tatham illustrates the excessively dangerous character of dusty occupations.

As compared with the mortality figures for twenty-three occupations, that of the farmer stands the lowest; assuming the mortality of agriculturists to be one hundred, the ratio of mortality of all the other occupations is shown. As compared with farmers, the mortality in the first seven occupations — pottery-makers, cutlers, file-makers, glass-makers, copper-workers, gunsmiths, and iron and steel manufacturers — is from three to four and a half times as great, and twelve others more than twice as great. The high rate from certain diseases is shown in columns 3 and 4.

The effect of inhaling foul air and of a constrained position is shown in Table XXVI. in the high mortality figures of certain occupations as compared with agriculture.

But the entire story regarding the degenerative influences brought to bear upon the weaker classes of the community is not brought out by the study of occupational mortality, but of class mortality. In occupational mortality we deal only with the diseases and deaths of adults, whereas in class mortality we deal also with the diseases and deaths of minors and of incapable members of the families. Ansell shows that out of 100,000 children born in the upper classes, nearly 10,000 more will reach the age of fifteen than in the

TABLE XXV.*

CERTAIN DUSTY OCCUPATIONS.

Comparative Mortality from Specified Causes.

OCCUPATION.	MORTALITY FIGURES.			
	Ratio.	Phthisis.	Diseases of Respiratory System.	Diseases of Circulatory System.
<i>Agriculturist</i>	100	106	115	88
Potter, Earthenware Manufacturer	453	333	668	227
Cutler	407	382	518	167
File-maker	373	402	423	204
Glass-maker	335	295	445	157
Copper-worker	317	294	406	186
Gunsmith	294	324	325	153
Iron and Steel Manufacturer	292	195	450	162
Zinc-worker	266	240	347	126
Stone-quarrier	261	269	307	137
Brass-worker	250	279	273	126
Chimney-sweep	249	260	291	142
Lead-worker	247	148	397	272
Cotton Manufacturer . .	244	202	338	152
Cooper and Wood Turner	238	250	276	137
Rope-maker	220	219	267	118
Bricklayer, Mason . .	215	225	251	130
Carpet Manufacturer . .	213	226	245	87
Tin-worker	204	217	234	124
Wool Manufacturer . .	202	191	256	131
Locksmith	194	223	205	104
Blacksmith	177	159	233	136
Baker, Confectioner . .	177	185	207	130

* From Oliver's "Dangerous Trades," p. 185.

population at large.¹ For our purpose perhaps the most convenient class-mortality statistics are those prepared by Dr.

¹ "Rate of Mortality," etc., in the Upper and Professional Classes, Table II.

Grimshaw, Registrar-General of Ireland, giving the experience in Dublin for the four years 1883 to 1886.¹ The death rates per 1000 for children under five years of age were found to be, in the professional class, 20.52; middle, 58.25;

TABLE XXVI.*

CERTAIN UNHEALTHFUL OCCUPATIONS.
Comparative Mortality from Several Causes.

MORTALITY FIGURES.				
OCCUPATION.	Ratio.	Phthisis.	Diseases of Respiratory System.	Diseases of Circulatory System.
<i>Agriculturist</i> . . .	100	106	115	83
Bookbinder . . .	246	325	218	115
Printer	244	326	214	133
Musician	236	322	200	191
Hatter	231	301	210	141
Hairdresser . . .	221	276	213	179
Tailor	211	271	195	121
Draper	200	260	181	135
Shoemaker	198	256	181	121

* Oliver, p. 149.

artisan class, 69.05; general service and pauper class, 108.73. The death-rates were such as to give a specially high percentage of persons under fifteen in the second and third classes, and the death-rate of children under five years of age is so excessive in the last-named class that the percentage of persons under fifteen was there not up to the average. Thus pressure is brought to bear upon the poor, and especially upon the artisan class, in a fourfold way. First, the number under fifteen years of age, and therefore of non-producers, is relatively high; second, the expense of a disproportionately large number of deaths is imposed upon the poor; third, the

¹ *British Medical Journal*, vol. ii., 1887, p. 241.

amount of sickness is disproportionately large; and, fourth, the number of births is larger than in the upper classes. The effect these influences will have upon a population of 1000 in each class appears in Table XXVII.

TABLE XXVII.
BURDENS AND BURDEN-BEARING POWER OF 1000 PERSONS IN
VARIOUS CLASSES, POPULATION OF DUBLIN (1883-1886).

CLASS.	NO. OF PER- SONS UNDER 15.	PERSONS OVER 15.	DEATHS.	YEARS OF SICKNESS.	YEARS OF HEALTH FOR PERSONS OVER 15.	RATIO OF SICKNESS TO EFFECTIVE HEALTH.
Professional and Independent . . .	229	771	15.20	30.40	746.5	1 : 24.5
Middle	300	700	26.21	52.42	668.3	1 : 12.6
Artisans and Petty Shop- keepers	322	678	23.00	46.00	645.6	1 : 14
General Service	277	723	37.79	75.58	665.5	1 : 08.8

By "effective health," as used in the table, is meant the health of persons fifteen years of age or over; that is, of persons capable of doing something for their own support, and possibly for the care of relatives. It seems that in Class I. there will be one year of sickness to 24.5 of effective health; in Class II. one to 12.6; in Class III. one to 14; and in Class IV. one to 8.8. Thus we have some explanation of how the high death-rate among the unfortunate classes operates to impose burdens that crush them.

It has already been pointed out how constant and conspicuous a factor sickness is in bringing persons to apply for relief and compelling them to become inmates of institutions.¹ The incidence of this burden upon those least able to bear it is again illustrated in a table derived from

¹ p. 42, Chap. II., case-counting.

material supplied by Körösi, the eminent statistician of Budapesth.

TABLE XXVIII.

MORTALITY AND MORBIDITY IN FIVE OCCUPATIONS.*

OCCUPATION.	No. LIVING AT 25.	No. LIVING AT 60.	YEARS OF LIFE, 25-60.	YEARS OF HEALTH, 25-60.	YEARS OF SICKNESS, 25-60.	RATIO OF HEALTH TO SICKNESS.
Merchants .	1000	587.7	28,501.23	27,676.63	824.6	33.5 : 1
Tailors . .	1000	421.2	25,673.45	24,515.91	1157.5	21.1 : 1
Shoemakers .	1000	376.2	23,872.38	22,624.78	1247.6	18.2 : 1
Servants . .	1000	290.2	22,416.92	20,997.32	1419.6	14.7 : 1
Day Laborers	1000	253.3	22,317.04	20,823.64	1493.4	13.9 : 1

* Josef Körösi, "Mittheilungen über Individuale Mortalitäts — Beobachtungen," Budapesth, 1876, p. 26.

This table shows that if we start at the age of 25 with 1000 persons of each class, there will be living at the end of 35 years : of the merchants, 587; of the tailors, 421; of the shoemakers, 376; of the servants, 290; and of the day laborers, only 253. During this time the total number of years of life lived by the merchants was 28,501.23, and by the day laborers only 22,317. But worse than this, of the years of life falling to the lot of the day laborer, 1493 will be years of sickness; while of the years of life lived by the merchants, only 824 will be years of sickness. Or to state the same thing in another way, the merchant will have 33½ years in which to provide for one of sickness, while the day laborer will have only 13.9 years of health in which to provide for one of sickness.

More recent figures are afforded by Watson who has carefully investigated the experience of the Manchester Unity Independent Order of Odd Fellows, which is representative of English workingmen generally.

It is seen that after fifty years of age, sickness becomes a very serious economic factor, rising rapidly in the next

fifteen years from two to ten weeks per annum. Moreover, it must be remembered that these are probably somewhat superior workmen and that the experience of friendly societies underestimates the amount of prevailing sickness.

TABLE XXIX.

MORTALITY AND SICKNESS RATES.*

Manchester Unity Independent Order of Odd Fellows (Watson, 1893-1897).

AGES.	ANNUAL RATE OF MORTALITY PER 1000 MEMBERS.	ANNUAL RATE OF SICKNESS PER MEMBER (WEEKS)
16-19	2.5	.92
20-24	3.7	.90
25-29	4.6	.95
30-34	5.5	1.06
35-39	7.0	1.27
40-44	9.5	1.58
45-49	11.7	1.99
50-54	16.9	2.75
55-59	24.2	4.02
60-64	35.6	6.81
65-69	54.1	10.59
70-74	80.9	17.40
75-79	120.4	25.15
80-84	176.6	32.27
85-89	232.6	36.12
90-94	284.7	38.89
95 and over	440.0	38.57

* Reprinted in *Am. Jour. of Soc.*, vol. xxvii., p. 469.

Of all the forms of illness to which the laboring classes are liable, tuberculosis is the most devastating. In Hamburg, Germany, the people who pay taxes on an income under 1000 marks have a death-rate from tuberculosis almost four times as great as that of the people with an income over 3500 marks. In Glasgow casual laborers have double the

average city death-rate from this disease and between the ages of 45 and 55 their rate is twelve times that of the professional class. In the last census year there were in the United States 110,000 deaths from consumption, and statisticians believe that there are not less than 330,000 living persons affected with the disease. Between the ages of 15 and 30, one-third, and between 30 and 45, one-fourth, of all deaths of American males is from this cause. The close relation between this disease and the different classes of occupations is illustrated in a table collated from English experience.

TABLE XXX.

MORTALITY FROM CONSUMPTION.

In Certain Groups of Occupations, English Experience (1890-1892).*

Rate per 1000 at each age.

AGES.	PROFESSIONAL.	AGRICULTURAL.	GENERAL TRADES AND INDUSTRIES.	UNHEALTHFUL TRADES.	DANGEROUS TRADES.	UNHEALTHFUL AND DANGEROUS TRADES.	COMMON LABOR.
15-19 . .	1.2	.4	0.8	1.0	.8	.6	.6
20-24 . .	2.2	1.3	2.0	2.6	1.8	1.4	2.0
25-34 . .	2.1	1.7	2.7	3.4	2.7	1.5	3.2
35-44 . .	2.4	2.0	3.8	4.5	3.2	2.1	4.7
45-54 . .	2.0	1.7	4.0	4.5	3.4	2.9	4.9
55-64 . .	1.5	1.5	3.2	3.8	2.8	3.2	3.4
65 and over	.7	1.0	1.8	2.2	1.7	2.8	2.0

* Hoffmann, *Am. Jo. of Soc.*, vol. xxvii., p. 489.

Here the unhealthful trades and common labor show a death-rate more than twice that of the agricultural class on the one hand and the professional class on the other, and this in those years of life when wage-earners are of most value not only to their families but to society. The further loss entailed by the long and costly sickness which precedes death may be demonstrated by the experience of a single

trade. President G. W. Perkins of the International Cigar-makers Union reported that 51 per cent of all deaths in that trade in 1888 were due to tuberculosis; and although the per cent of deaths had fallen in 1905 to one-half, a total amount of \$73,000 was paid in that year in sick and death benefits on account of consumption.¹ Yet cigar-making is by no means the most unhealthy of trades. Referring again to Table XXV. on p. 129, we see that the worst of the dust-producing occupations — pottery and earthenware manufacture, cutlery and file-making, glass-blowing, copper-working — have a mortality from tuberculosis alone, two to four times that of farm-workers; and from respiratory diseases, two to six times as great.

Yet excessive dustiness is only one of many causes of tuberculosis. It is primarily a disease of under-vitalization, due to underfeeding, overwork, congestion, and bad sanitary conditions. Dr. Hull and Dr. Hedger, in an investigation of certain poor districts of Chicago, named as conditions of employment tending to spread and increase consumption: low wages, high rents, and consequent crowding; excessive fatigue from long and irregular hours of work, and unsanitary conditions of the place of employment, such as deficient daylight and sunlight, foul air, and poor food.²

Having studied the effect of certain unhealthful conditions of labor in producing disease among adults, we turn to the consideration of the employment of children. Child-labor was one of the first causes of degeneration attacked by the English philanthropists of the nineteenth century, and at the beginning of the twentieth century in the United States it continues to be a conspicuous point of attack for social workers. Until very recently the discussion of the question has been based on inadequate information as to the facts, but in 1907, Bulletin 69 of the United States Census Bureau pre-

¹ *Charities*, vol. xvi., p. 207, 1906.

² *Ibid.*, vol. xvi., pp. 205-209.

TABLE XXXI.

CHILD LABOR IN THE UNITED STATES (1900).*

OCCUPATION.	NUMBER.	PER CENT DISTRIBUTION.
All Occupations	1,750,178	100.0
Agricultural Laborers	1,054,446	60.2
Bookkeepers, Clerks, Stenographers, etc. .	25,656	1.5
Boot and Shoe Makers and Repairers . .	8,282	0.5
Draymen, Hackmen, Teamsters, etc. . .	11,566	0.7
Glass-workers	5,865	0.3
Laborers (not specified)	128,617	7.3
Launderers and Laundresses	7,011	0.4
Messengers and Errand and Office Boys .	42,021	2.4
Metal-workers	23,371	1.3
Miners and Quarrymen	24,209	1.4
Packers and Porters	7,241	0.4
Painters, Glaziers, and Varnishers . . .	3,240	0.2
Printers, Lithographers, and Pressmen .	6,279	0.4
Salesmen and Saleswomen	20,322	1.2
Servants and Waiters	138,065	7.9
Textile Mill Operatives	82,004	4.7
Cotton Mill	44,427	2.5
Hosiery and Knitting Mill	8,267	0.5
Silk Mill	8,938	0.5
Woollen Mill	6,625	0.4
All other	13,747	0.8
Textile Workers	35,070	2.0
Dressmakers	6,698	0.4
Milliners	3,227	0.2
Seamstresses	7,661	0.4
Shirt, Collar, and Cuff Makers . . .	3,635	0.2
Tailors and Tailoresses	10,913	0.6
All other	2,936	0.2
Tobacco and Cigar Factory Operatives . .	11,462	0.7
Woodworkers	11,920	0.7
All Other Occupations	104,081	5.9

* Continental U.S. Bulletin 69 (1907), U.S. Census, p. 16.

sented the essentials for a clear understanding of the extent and location of the evil. Table XXXI. shows the number of children, i.e. persons over ten and under sixteen years of age, engaged in gainful occupations in the United States in 1900.

It is apparent that by far the most important occupation for children is that of agricultural laborers. Of the 1,750,178 children at work, 60.2 per cent were on the farm, four-fifths of them assisting their parents. Since farm work for children is not generally regarded as injurious to health or morals and does not necessarily interfere with school attendance, attention should be fixed upon the occupations of the 688,207 children employed in other occupations. The distribution of this group by age and sex is shown in Table XXXII.

TABLE XXXII.

BREADWINNERS 10 TO 15 YEARS OF AGE, EXCLUSIVE OF THOSE EMPLOYED IN AGRICULTURAL PURSUITS, IN CONTINENTAL UNITED STATES (1900).*

AGE.	TOTAL.	MALE.		FEMALE.		PER CENT DISTRIBUTION.		
		Num- ber.	Per Cent.	Num- ber.	Per Cent.	Total.	Male.	Fe- male.
Total . .	688,207	409,721	59.5	278,486	40.5	100.0	100.0	100.0
10 years . .	20,683	11,706	56.6	8,977	43.4	3.0	2.9	3.2
11 years . .	26,971	15,754	58.4	11,217	41.6	3.9	3.8	4.0
12 years . .	49,670	29,756	59.9	19,914	40.1	7.2	7.3	7.2
13 years . .	89,034	53,029	59.6	36,005	40.4	12.9	12.9	12.9
14 years . .	191,023	113,429	59.4	77,594	40.6	27.8	27.7	27.9
15 years . .	310,826	186,047	59.9	124,779	40.1	45.2	45.4	44.8

* Bulletin 69, p. 9.

The evils of child-labor depend partly upon the age and sex of the child employed and partly upon the character of the occupation. About 45 per cent of these children were 15 years of age, and a majority of them boys; for such as

these labor is not necessarily objectionable, except as it cuts them off from all but the most elementary education. If the occupation were an apprenticeship at a trade under healthful conditions, it might be equivalent in value to a year of formal school training at this period of life; but under the conditions of modern industry this is seldom the case.

There remain at least 377,381 children under 14, of whom 153,707 are girls, whose employment outside the home may be regarded as almost inevitably injurious. To these should be added the 124,779 girls between 15 and 16 to whom wage-earning employment is likely to be far more dangerous than to boys of the same age. Of the total number of girls at work, 42 per cent were servants and waitresses. The degree of injury from such employment depends upon a variety of conditions, but is on the whole probably less than that to which textile operatives (16.8 per cent) and textile-workers (10.7 per cent) are exposed. The boys under 16 are chiefly engaged as laborers, messengers, errand and office boys (9.2 per cent), textile-mill operatives (8.6 per cent), miners and quarrymen (5.9 per cent), and metal-workers (5.2 per cent).

In order to ascertain more in detail the family relationships and social conditions, 23,657 child breadwinners between 10 and 14 engaged as cotton-mill operatives, messenger boys, coal-mine workers, dressmakers, etc., tobacco and silk mill operatives, and glass-workers were classified by the census bureau. The results show that these children belonged as a class to large families of six to eight persons, that as a whole they were far more illiterate than non-working children, and that two-thirds of them belonged to families in which there were two, three, and even more older breadwinners. The variations range from 188 families with no older breadwinner, in which the child was apparently the sole dependence, to 264 families having no dependent members, in which all the older members were wage-earners, and in which the labor of children ought to be entirely unnecessary.

Beyond these figures there are no authoritative American studies as there are in England, France, and Germany, showing the physical deterioration in those who are early put to work at tasks which are too heavy for them or which, by their nature, prevent normal development. Mr. Frederick Hoffmann, the statistician, has contended that there is a tendency in the discussion of child labor, as in all social agitation, to overlook the necessity for a basis of facts and to exaggerate exceptional instances of abuse. On this ground he argues that no legislation on radical lines should be made until it has been ascertained whether children employed at different trades are really physically injured, stunted in their growth, or hindered in their development.¹

Dr. Felix Adler, on the other hand, declares that it is a "sheer humiliation" to have to prove by argument that a child of ten or twelve years is stunted and crippled by laboring ten hours a day.² It would seem that the facts of English experience during the whole of the nineteenth century should be sufficient to prove the contention of reformers that child labor is an inevitable cause of degeneration. As early as 1796 the Manchester Board of Health embodied among their resolutions the following statement of facts: —

"The large factories are generally injurious to the constitution of those employed in them, from the close confinement which is enjoined, from the debilitating effects of hot or impure air, and from the want of the active exercises which nature points out as essential in childhood and youth to invigorate the system, and to fit our species for the employments and duties of manhood. The untimely labor of the night and the protracted labor of the day, with respect to chil-

¹ "The Social and Medical Aspects of Child Labor," N. C. C., 1903. For the historical arguments in favor of child labor, see *Annals*, vol. xxvii., No. 2, pp. 313-320; pp. 281 ff.

² Address, National Child Labor Committee, Second Annual Convention, December, 1905.

dren, not only tend to diminish future expectations as to the sum of life and industry, by impairing the strength and destroying the vital stamina of the rising generation, but it too often gives encouragement to idleness, extravagance, and profligacy in the parents, who, contrary to the order of nature, subsist by the oppression of their offspring."¹

English philanthropists continued to prophesy the penalty that must follow belated and imperfect legislation for the protection of factory children. At the end of a century, the physical degeneration of the English population was revealed by the enlistments for the Boer War and the masses of degenerate unemployables.²

In the United States, there has been recently accumulating a quantity of descriptive literature on this subject. Dr. Daniel, from personal observation, thus describes the evils of certain tenement sweat-shops:—

“The finishers are made up of the old and the young, the sick and the well. As soon as a little child can be of the least possible help, it must add to the family income by taking a share in the family toil. A child three years old can straighten out tobacco leaves or stick the rims which form the stamens of artificial flowers through the petals. He can put the covers on paper boxes at four years. He can do some of the pasting of paper boxes, although as a rule this requires a child of six to eight years. But from four to six years he can sew on buttons and pull basting threads. A girl from eight to twelve can finish trousers as well as her mother. After she is twelve, if of good size, she can earn more money in a factory. The boys do practically the same work as the girls, except that they leave the home work earlier, and enter street work, as pedlers, bootblacks, and newsboys. I have seen but two children under three years of age working in tenements, one a boy two and one-half years old, who assisted the mother, and four other children under twelve years, in making artificial flowers. The other, an extraordinary case of a child of one and one-half years, who assisted at a kind of passementerie.

¹ Reprinted in *Annals*, vol. xxvii., p. 316; see Hutcheson and Harrison, “History of Factory Legislation.”

² McKelway, *Am. Assoc. Adv. of Sci.*, 1906; reprinted *Annals*, vol. xxvii., pp. 312 ff.; Lindsay, *Annals*, pp. 331–336; Dennis, *Everybody's Magazine*, February, 1905.

“The sick, as long as they can hold their heads up, must work to pay for the cost of their living. As soon as they are convalescent, they must begin again. A child from three to ten or twelve years adds by its labor from fifty cents to \$1.50 per week to the family income. The hours of the child are as long as its strength endures or the work remains. A child three years old can work continuously from one and one-half to two hours at a time; a child ten years old can work twelve hours. Obviously under such conditions the child is deprived of the two greatest rights which the parents and the state are bound to give each child: health and an education.

“The particular dangers to the child’s health are such as can be induced by the confinement in the house, in an atmosphere always foul. The bad light under which the child works causes a continual eye-strain, from the effects of which the child will suffer all its life. The brain of the child under eight years of age is not developed sufficiently to bear fixed attention. Hence it must be continually forced to fix its attention to the work, and in doing this an irreparable damage is done to the developing brain. A child forced to earn its bread has neither the time nor the opportunity to obtain an education.”¹

Mr. Owen R. Lovejoy cites as the results of different kinds of premature employment:²—

“The wrecking of the nervous system in young girls who spend the years of adolescence bent over sewing machines run at lightning speed; the bronchial and pulmonary affections of the child of the coal-breakers; the languor and backwardness of the little street-trader; the failing vision of the tenement-house worker, and the diseases of the feet and spine which have been recently so strikingly traced by Dr. Freiburg to the unnatural exactions of factory labor upon boys and girls.”

In some industries the chief danger to children lies in accident. A report on anthracite mines in Pennsylvania showed that one-half of the slate-pickers in the breakers were under sixteen years of age; yet 75 per cent of the accidents were to boys under sixteen years of age.³ Mr. Lovejoy further points out that the subnormal wages of

¹ Report of National Consumers’ League, 1905, pp. 28-29.

² “Child Labor and Philanthropy,” N. C. C., 1907, p. 198.

³ Lovejoy, “Child Labor in the Coal Mines,” *Annals*, vol. xxvii., No. 2, pp. 293 ff.

these children not only tends to lower the standard of living, but fosters the idleness of older boys, floods the market with unskilled laborers who had neither time nor opportunity to learn a trade in their youth, and thus precipitates labor conflicts.

The interdependence of child labor and illiteracy is illustrated by Mrs. Florence Kelley,¹ who shows that arranging all the states in four groups according to the numbers of their illiterate children, five leading manufacturing states, New York, Pennsylvania, Illinois, Ohio, and New Jersey, all stand near the bottom, and have more than 20,000 illiterate children; while the great cotton manufacturing states of the South stand at the very bottom. Massachusetts alone, of the great manufacturing states, lies in group two at the middle of the list.

Miss Jane Addams, from observation of tramps in lodging-houses, concludes:—

“This inordinate desire to get away from work seems to be connected with the fact that the men have started to work very early, before they had the physique to stand up to it, or the mental vigor with which to overcome its difficulties, or the moral stamina which makes a man stick to his work whether he likes it or not. . . . It is no figment of the imagination to say that the human system breaks down . . . and that general debility and many diseases may be traced to premature labor.”²

Miss Addams shows that the employment of children in factory labor often pauperizes the parents.³ The immigrant peasantry from Europe and the poor white farmers in the South have been accustomed to farm work from their childhood, and they see no difference between it and factory labor to which they consign their children. The children adapt themselves to the new conditions more easily than the parents, so the parents drop out, with the result that

¹ Kelley, “Illiterate Children,” etc., *Charities*, March 14, 1903.

² “Child Labor and Pauperism,” N. C. C., 1903, pp. 114–121.

³ Corroborated by Lindsay, *Annals*, vol. xxvii., No. 2, p. 333.

the parents become more and more dependent on the children's earnings. The parasitic character of sweating industries and of child labor has been pointed out by many modern writers. Sidney Webb, in discussing the labor of children who live at home and work for less than the cost of subsistence and nurture, and of adult women working at wages insufficient to keep them in full efficiency, who are, in fact, partially maintained by another class, says:—

“An industry, to be economically self-supporting, must maintain its full establishment of workers, unimpaired in numbers and vigor, with a sufficient number of children to fill vacancies caused by death or superannuation. If the employers in a particular trade are able to take such advantage of the necessities of their work people as to hire them for wages actually insufficient to provide enough food, clothing, and shelter to maintain them in average health; if they are able to work them for hours so long as to deprive them of adequate rest and recreation; and if they can subject them to conditions so dangerous and unsanitary as positively to shorten their lives, that trade is clearly obtaining a supply of labor force which it does not pay for. Such parasitic trades are not drawing any money subsidy from the incomes of other classes, but in thus deteriorating the physique, intelligence, and character of their operatives they are drawing on the capital stock of the nation.”¹

In reply to the objections of many modern manufacturers that a particular industry will be ruined if children cannot be employed, we may point to the prosperity of the cotton industry in England and such industries as glass-making in the United States, which appear to thrive in proportion as child labor has been dispensed with.² But if some check to certain industries were involved in the strict limitation of child labor, it must be questioned whether the service to society is not after all worth the cost. If a particular industry does not justify the employment of adults at a living wage under decent conditions, the community would suffer little from the loss of it, as compared with the destruction of

¹ Webb, “Industrial Democracy,” vol. ii., p. 749.

² Lovejoy, “Child Labor in the Glass Industry,” *Annals*, pp. 303–304.

character and physique involved in parasitic labor. The time is certainly not far off when we shall demand and enforce by effective legislation, that every industry shall bear the full cost of legitimate production. We cannot afford, says McKelway, to put colts to the plough.

A study of the labor of adult women has disclosed a similar tendency to deterioration of health and capacity as the result of inadequate wage, long, irregular hours of labor, and exposure to physical and social hardships. But since space is lacking to consider all the social tendencies toward degeneration, we must turn to a phase of employment affecting most injuriously wage-earners of both sexes and all ages in a great number of industries. Intermittent, irregular labor may arise from seasonal variations, or from the spasmodic nature of modern industry, or from the inclination of employing companies, as in the bituminous coal regions and the meat-packing industries, to keep a large number of men partially employed rather than a small number occupied all the time. Of the same nature is the unemployment from industrial crises, which leave behind a legacy of individual degeneration and personal unthrift.

TABLE XXXIII.
APPLICANTS FOR RELIEF AND INDUSTRIAL DISPLACEMENT
(1895-1896).

	NUMBER OF CASES.	PER CENT.
Cases of displacement indicating industrial contraction	106	22.4
Cases of insufficient, irregular, or poorly paid employment	159	33.6
Replacement indicating no character weakness	128	27.1
Replacement indicating character weakness	80	16.9
	473	100.0

In a study of industrial displacement made by Francis H. McLean from the records of the New York Charity Organization Society, the different classes are shown as in Table XXXIII. From further information it appears that 40 per cent of these men were only irregularly employed even when they last had employment.¹

But if it be thought that such statistics as these overstate the proportions of uncertain employment, we have only to rehearse the facts of seasonal unemployment in New York City in 1905 to see how serious the situation is even in prosperous years. Mr. Frank J. Warne writes as follows:—

“The seasonal nature of unemployment is indicated in the fact that of the 365,000 members of trade unions reporting to the New York State Bureau of Labor in 1905, as many as 32,000, or 8.7 per cent, were idle in the January–March period, while for July–September only 7500, or but 2 per cent, were out of work. The report of the State Bureau of Labor shows that for the four years since 1901 as many as 20 to 25 per cent of the membership of the labor unions have been idle in January. The year 1905 was an exceptionally favorable one for employment at this season (March), and yet among brick-layers and masons 43 per cent were idle, carpenters and joiners more than 20 per cent, and painters and decorators more than 29 per cent. Out of more than 400,000 working men and women reporting from all trades throughout the state in 1907, more than 77,000, or 19 per cent, were not at work at the end of March of that year, while more than 55,000 did not work at all during the first three months of the year.”²

But it is with the effect of these conditions that we are at present concerned. Dr. Tatham shows that the mortality of unoccupied males is two and a half times as great as that of occupied males. Mr. Percy Alden declares that the relation between inefficiency and unemployment is as close as that of drink and poverty, and quotes a large employer of labor as saying:—

¹ Quoted by Devine, “Principles of Relief,” pp. 156, 160.

² *Charities and the Commons*, vol. xix., 1908, p. 1585.

"Between five and six per cent of my skilled men are out of work just now. During the long spell of idleness any one of these men invariably deteriorates. In some cases the deterioration is very marked. The man becomes less proficient and less capable, . . . nothing has a worse effect upon the caliber of such men than a spell of idleness."¹

The warden of Kings County Jail, New York, said : —

"Over fifty per cent of the commitments to this institution are for vagrancy — the crime (?) of being out of work and homeless. I am convinced from seeing the efficient work of some of these men while here, that they never would be here, could they have secured employment outside. By our treatment of the unemployed we are making criminals of men who have hitherto been honest, self-sustaining members of the community."

Idleness during a short period, for hard-working people, would be no inevitable injury if their leisure could be turned to account in recreation and culture; but in the situation of the poor it means first of all discouragement and that fear of want which Robert Hunter has said is the essence of poverty. The man must spend his time tramping in search of work, or idling in streets, saloons, and lodging-houses, for the tenement offers no inducements for home-staying. As resources dwindle, he will be less and less well nourished and clothed, and when at last he is able to resume work, he is physically and mentally debilitated. If the process be repeated season after season, each is likely to find him progressively less competent and ambitious.

Nor will the deterioration affect him alone. If he have a family, the wife must take any kind of casual labor that may be available, however exhausting it may be and regardless of her own physical fitness, while at the same time the whole family will have less food, fuel, and clothing. This extra labor and great thrift on the wife's part may tide over the period of the husband's out-of-work for one season, or two,

¹ "The Unemployed," p. 6.

or three even; but sooner or later, sickness or some other common vicissitude is liable to drain the last resources and deprive the household of its independence. Mrs. Bosanquet says that it takes a very high order of intellect to be self-supporting on an intermittent income; to what extent irregular employment and its accompaniment, intermittent income, operate in enervating the working-class, can be fully known only by those who live among them and see dependents in the process of making.¹

In the foregoing outline of a few conspicuous social causes of degeneration, the element of personal habits and character has been omitted. It is obvious that individuals of strong physique or judgment may escape the diseases incident to their trades, while others who are careless or intemperate will succumb to them. It has often been observed that the victims of tuberculosis are lacking in judgment and as a class more deficient in the practice of personal hygiene than well persons. In other words, disease, accident, unemployment—all the environmental causes of deterioration and incapacity—seem to have an affinity for the relatively unfit. Yet every worker is enmeshed in a network of fateful conditions for which he is not responsible and from which he could not escape were he of ever so immaculate character and habits, of tireless industry, or even of a considerable degree of capacity.

We found that disease produces poverty, and we now find that poverty produces disease; that poverty comes from degeneration and incapacity, and now that degeneration and incapacity come from poverty. Yet it is not without benefit to trace the whole dismal round of this vicious circle, for it well illustrates the interaction of social forces. A produces B, and B reacts to increase A. In biblical phrase, "The destruction of the poor is their poverty."

¹ "Aspects of the Social Problem," p. 97.

The "unfit" aid in accomplishing their own extermination. But in tracing the long circle the number of those forces which are distinctly preventable constantly grows, and includes not only the diseases of occupations, but also many of those pertaining to the manner of living, concerning which nothing has yet been said.

CHAPTER V.¹

FACTS AND CONDITIONS OF POVERTY.

THUS far, in the study of the causes of poverty, the larger part of the American material has been derived from the Charity Organization Society schedules devised in 1888. Although the general conclusions drawn from them have not been disputed, the limitations of the case-counting method have been increasingly evident. In 1899 the committee of the National Conference revised and rearranged the schedules, throwing out a number of the minor causes, and regrouping the more conspicuous under "Causes within the Family and outside the Family," instead of under "Misconduct and Misfortune."²

CAUSES OF DISTRESS.

I. *Causes within the Family.*

Disregard of family ties (desertion, neglect to contribute by children, brothers, sisters, or other natural supporters).

Intemperance (abuse of stimulants or narcotics).

Dishonesty or other moral defects.

Lack of thrift, industry, or judgment.

Physical or mental defects (blind, deaf, crippled from birth, insane, feeble-minded).

Sickness, death, or accident.

II. *Causes outside the Family.*

Lack of employment not due to employee (changes in trade, introduction of machinery, hard times, strike or lockout, partial or complete shut-down, removal of industry, etc.

Defective sanitation.

¹ Interpolated by the Reviser.

² Schedule form reproduced in *Charities Review*, vol. viii., 1898, p. 470.

Degrading surroundings.

Unwise philanthropy.

Public calamity.

III. *Unclassified.*

The schedule as thus modified was less mechanical and the assumption of the family rather than the individual as the unit of observation was a great gain in logic, but it did not remove the fundamental objections to the method. Between 1899 and 1907 the rapidly changing view of poverty caused several leading societies to discontinue the use of the new schedules, and the scientific errors of the method were finally set forth fully in an address made by Miss Lilian Brandt, Statistician of the New York Charity Organization Society, before the Philadelphia Conference of Charities in 1907.¹

Miss Brandt attacked the method on several grounds, but chiefly that case-counting reflected the mind of the agent who set down the cause, rather than the cause itself, and that it assumed both that it is possible to decide on a principal cause and that the person who has the task can do it. She says: —

“What the decision as to the cause of need will be in any case depends not on the facts of the case, but on the knowledge of them several generations back by the person making the decision, *plus* his own bias, determined by natural temperament and education, *plus* his ability to recognize a cause when he sees it. In other words, the decision is merely an expression of opinion, and is of no scientific value.”

Describing the effect of the altered views of poverty Miss Brandt continues: —

“In general the change has consisted in moving the causes in the first group over into the second, placing them under the head, ‘outside the family.’ Behind ‘disregard of family ties’ we see defective education of both boys and girls, instability of employment, the influence of institution life; behind ‘intemperance’ we see poor food, congested living, lack of opportunities for wholesome recreation, and the power of the liquor trust; in the place of ‘licentiousness’ and ‘dishonesty’

¹ To be published in the *Quar. Jour. of Econ.*, 1908,

and 'other moral defects' (when they *are* causes of poverty, being much more frequently devices for escape from poverty) we are inclined to put primarily our ridiculously ineffectual penal methods, and again defective education, and again unwholesome conditions of modern city life; 'lack of industry, thrift, and judgment' appear in many cases to be really the results of poverty—the lack of imagination induced by years of privation showing itself in shiftlessness, undernourishment in laziness and mental sluggishness, and premature employment, which we would doubtless have commended as thrift a generation ago, in lack of industry in the grown man. 'Physical and mental defects' are to us now the outward and visible signs of inadequate provision for the segregation and education of defectives, careless neglect of the welfare of school children, unintelligent and indifferent methods of instruction in the public schools. 'Sickness, accident, and death' we analyze: the sickness is traced to ignorance of the causes of preventable disease, to bad sanitary conditions in dwelling and workshop, to insufficient provision for curing certain kinds of illness, to the ignorance of great numbers of mothers concerning the care of their babies, to the action of commercial interests which make it a difficult matter for even the well-to-do to get pure milk and food, to governmental inefficiency exhibited in a contaminated water-supply and dirty streets; for accident we read neglect to provide safety devices or to permit them to be used, and an evasion of responsibility for the results which is none the less criminal because legalized by the construction of the courts; and almost every death that is a cause of dependence we know now is preventable, which is equivalent to saying that we have found a cause farther back than 'death,' and that we have also found out how that cause may be controlled.

"The renowned causes of poverty are, in short, largely symptoms and results of poverty. They are, to be sure, potent to produce more poverty, but they are not the beginning."

At the meeting of the National Conference of Charities and Corrections in 1906; Dr. Lee K. Frankel offered a new classification of the causes of dependence which still further reflects the more modern attitude. It consists of four divisions only: ignorance, industrial inefficiency, exploitation of labor, and defects of governmental supervision. Miss Brandt thinks this should be reduced to two, cutting out ignorance and inefficiency as the result of the other two; but

she would add a third heading to express: "the defective will which chooses unwisely in the face of knowledge and the selfishness which evades responsibility." She prophesies, moreover, that when exploitation of labor and defective governmental supervision have been eliminated, "the irreducible minimum of natural depravity, moral defects, or whatever it may be called, will not be large enough to constitute a serious problem."

Her conclusion is: "the removal of the existing visible effects of the 'underlying causes' will do almost as well as the removal of the causes themselves, or, in other words, poverty is itself the most potent cause of poverty and the most responsive to treatment." What philanthropy has to deal with, then, is "adverse conditions," which may be studied by observing dependent families or by pursuing some injurious feature of city life to its effects — "These adverse conditions in the city are the 'underlying causes'; the adverse conditions in the families are effects." What we need to know is, not what amount of poverty is due to this or that "cause," but, for instance, how much sickness or unemployment there is at work producing poverty and how to remedy it.

The first study made from this point of view to ascertain the "adverse conditions" of dependent families was made by Miss Brandt for the Committee of Social Research of the New York Charity Organization Society in 1905.¹ Of the 1531 district cases studied, 44.54 per cent had not been recorded in the Registration Bureau previous to the present application, which corroborates Professor Warner's statement that those who apply for relief to the Charity Organization Societies are not permanently dependent, but such as are ordinarily self-supporting, and require help only at critical times. Diagram I. shows that a majority of them

¹ Report N. Y. C. O. S., 1904-1905, pp. 63 ff.; the most important part of this valuable report is reprinted in *Charities and the Commons*, vol. xv., 1906, pp. 62 ff. Diagrams I., II., and III. are reproduced from this report.

(54.23 per cent) are normal family groups; widows form one-quarter of the whole number; married couples without children are chiefly aged persons; and the absence of single men and women is explained by their treatment in another bureau.

DIAGRAM I.

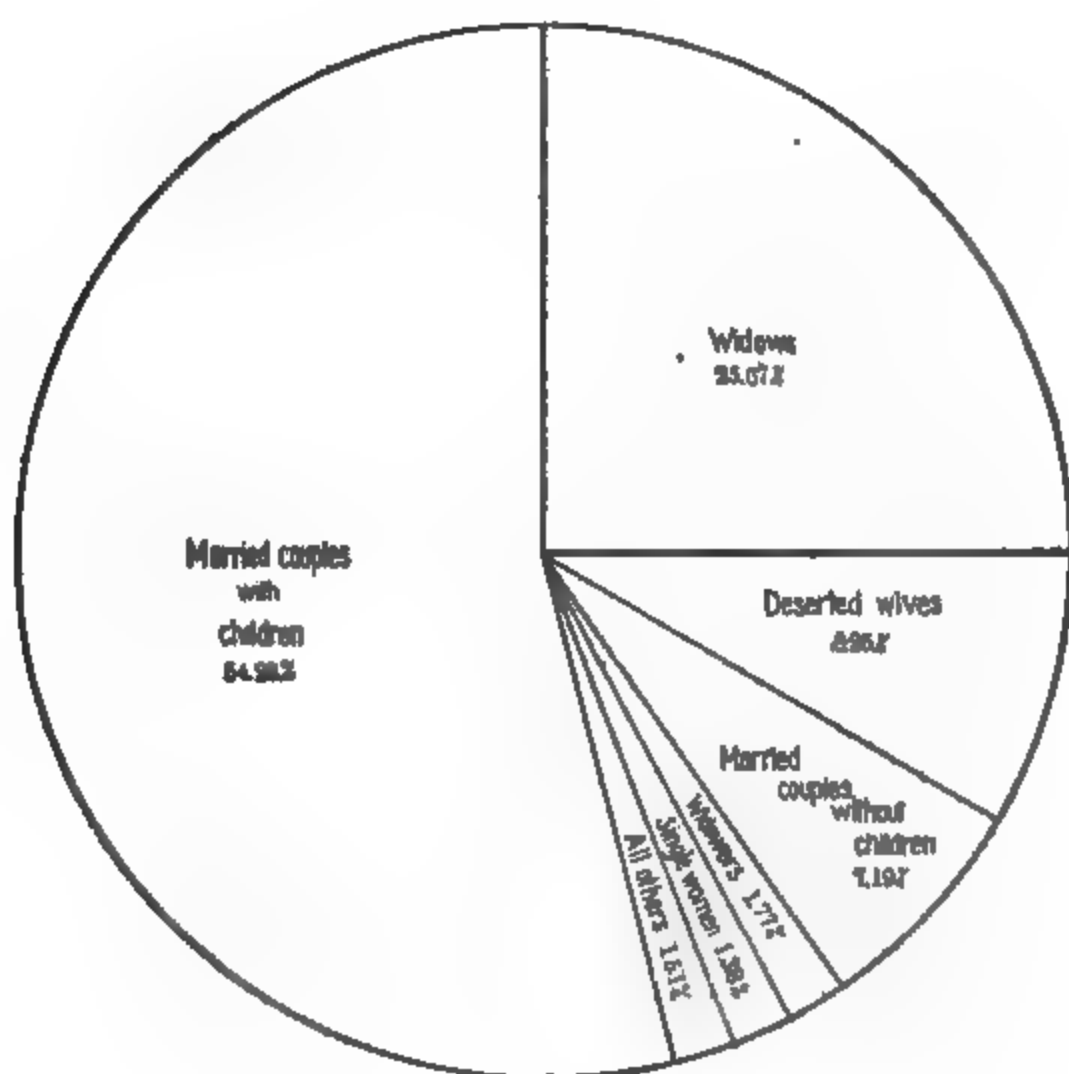
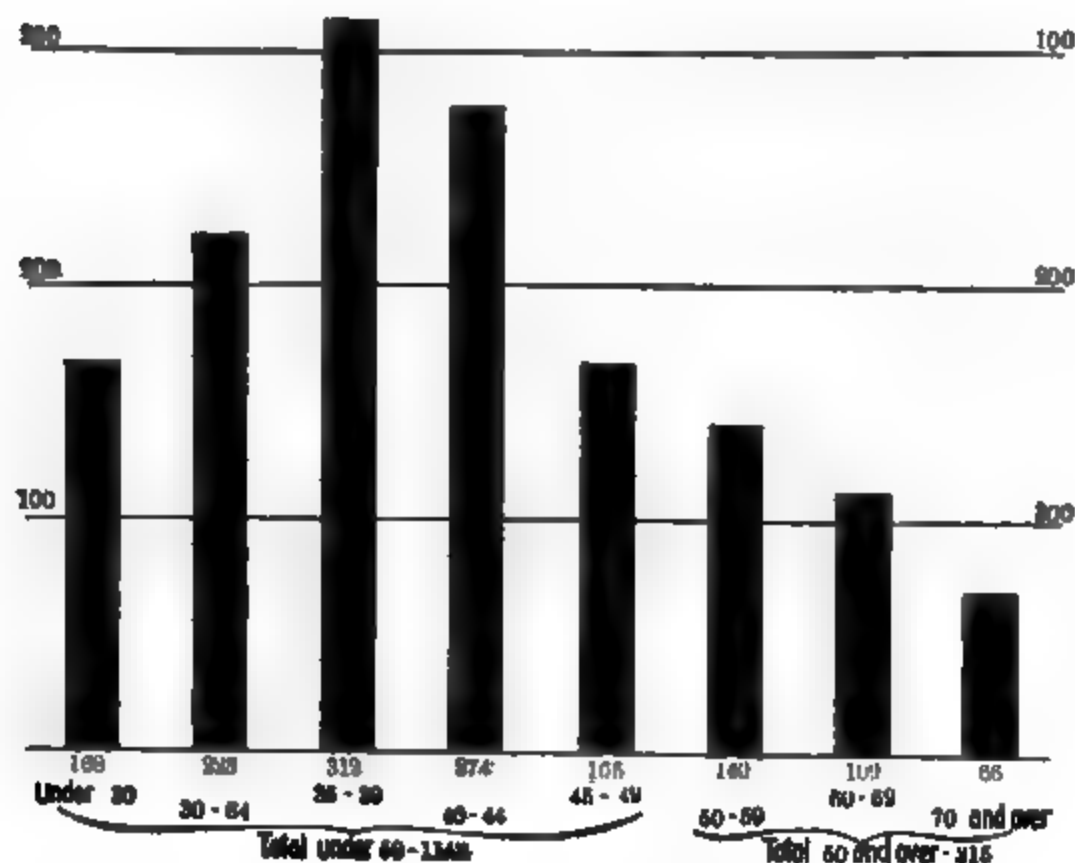


Diagram II., of the Age of Heads of Families by groups, shows that a large proportion of them are young persons — 75 per cent under 50, and 11 per cent under 30, years of age.

Of the 4253 children of these families under 21 years of age, 95.21 per cent were at home, 1.5 per cent with

relatives, leaving only 3.29 per cent (a very small number) who had been placed in institutions. Twenty per cent of the families with children had five or more, indicating that large families were a factor in producing dependence. Elsewhere Miss Brandt discusses the social influences tending to narrow the wage-earning period by curtailing both

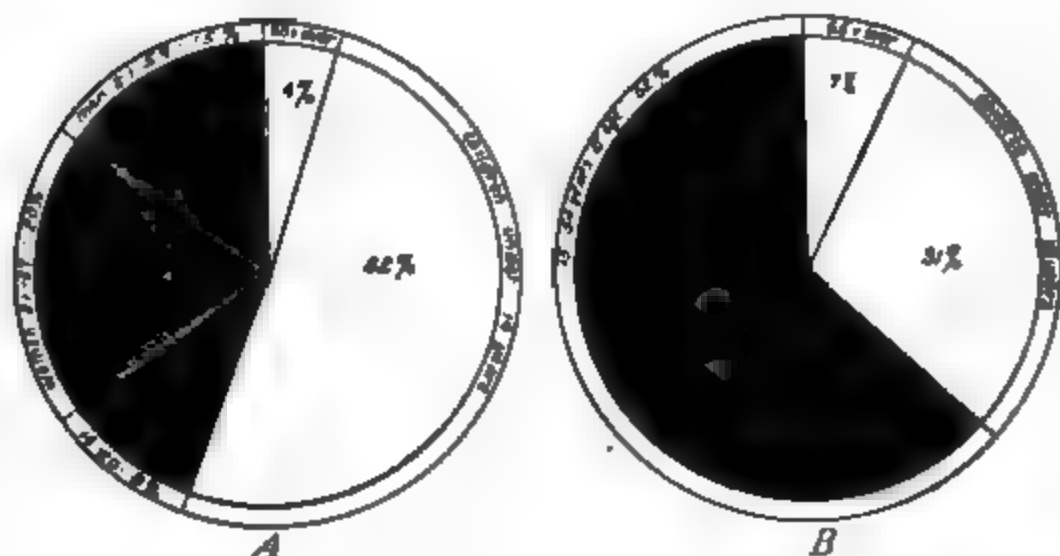
DIAGRAM II.



ends. Society is constantly raising the age limit of work for children, while the tendency of industry is to throw out a larger and larger section of old men, thus lengthening the periods of normal dependence at the expense of the productive years. Fifty-two per cent of the children of these families were under 14 years of age; while very few instances of capacity for full self-support are found among the individuals who were over 60 years of age. In these respects, this dependent group is abnormal, as shown by Diagram III.

DIAGRAM III.

PROPORTION OF DEPENDENTS OF WAGE-EARNING AGE
As compared with General Population of New York City.



Age composition of 1527 families in charge of the Charity Organization Society in 1905 (circle A), and of the aggregate population of New York City in 1900 (circle B). The black segment of each circle indicates roughly the proportion of the population of wage-earning age; the white segment the proportion which is naturally dependent.

It is seen that children among the dependents constitute more than half of the whole number, while they are less than a third of the general population; and that the proportion of men and women in the prime of life is considerably smaller among the first class as compared with the second. In other words, the number of the naturally dependent is large, and the number of wage-earners relatively small.

Finally the investigator concluded that lack of employment was perhaps the most constant characteristic of dependent families. In 71 per cent of them the chief wage-earner was out of work at the time of the application. Although the reason for idleness was rarely stated, the concurrent circumstances were frequently illness and injury due to accident. There was frequently a disinclination to work regularly, usually connected with intemperance. Sometimes the

man was incapacitated, sometimes of less than average ability, occasionally there was no market for his peculiar talents, or there was a slack season in his trade.

It seemed clear that most of the idleness was due to incapacity of some sort rather than to industrial conditions; and the incapacity, in turn, to illness or physical disability. The characteristic illnesses were tuberculosis, rheumatism (accompanied generally by intemperance), and childbirth. The impossibility of distinguishing between shiftlessness as a moral defect and shiftlessness as a result of under-nourishment made it difficult to determine the degree of moral defects; but as written down, one-fourth were intemperate, one-fifth deserted their families, a small proportion were shiftless, unreliable, or bad-tempered. To make the picture truer must be included: "those intangible and ill-defined defects . . . perversities of temper and peculiarities of temperament which in a millionaire may pass unnoticed, but which in a man on the poverty line are of vital significance to his economic standing."¹

The second way of studying the adverse conditions of the poor is the pursuit of a single evil from its effects backward through the network of municipal, industrial, commercial, or political influences which promote or suffer or superinduce it. Of this character are the reports on unsanitary housing, on tuberculosis, desertion, child labor, sweating industries, and similar evils, which are the premonition and the basis of intelligent reform.

We have been chiefly concerned in the three preceding chapters with the historical development of the explanations of poverty and pauperism, and in setting forth the conclusions so far attained by the statistical method from the study of dependents. It is impossible to say to what extent the rapid evolution of these latest views of social rather than individual responsibility for poverty is the logical

¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 79-81, digest of conclusions.

result of democratic theories in this country; or how far they have been influenced by economics and biology. But unquestionably the work of Charles Booth and B. Seebohm Rowntree in England has been the crystallizing force to determine the form which social research has assumed so suddenly in America.

Since the publication of the first edition of Warner's "American Charities," in 1894, Charles Booth has completed his monumental study of the life and labor of the people of London, and this has been followed by other studies on a smaller scale but of a more intensive character both in England and America.

The pictures drawn by Booth and Rowntree, of whole cross-sections of the population of London and York, furnished for the first time a basis for an estimate of the amount and proportions of absolute and relative poverty. Mr. Booth and his assistants, between 1886 and 1903, collated an immense mass of material concerning the wage-earning classes of East London in their family, social, and industrial life, with the purpose of picturing the conditions of each class and the relation of welfare to earnings. He divided the population of London into eight classes according to the earnings of the head of the family, as follows:—

A. Lowest class — occasional laborers, loafers, and semi-criminals.

B. Casual earnings — "very poor."

C. Intermittent earnings

D. Small regular earnings } "the poor."

E. Regular standard earnings — unskilled labor.

F. Higher-class labor — foremen and skilled artisans.

G. Lower middle class.

H. Upper middle or "servant-keeping" class.

Having determined that an income of 21s. per week was the minimum amount which would barely maintain a family of five persons, he estimated, on the basis of his investiga-

tions, the proportions of the population belonging to these several classes: —

<i>A</i> — the lowest	} below 18s. a week	87,610 or 0.7 %
<i>B</i> — very poor		816,884 or 7.5 %
<i>C</i> and <i>D</i> — poor, 18s. to 21s. a week		938,298 or 22.8 %
IN POVERTY		30.7 %
<i>E</i> — working class — 22s. to 30s. a week	}	2,166,503 or 51.5 %
<i>F</i> — working class — 30s. to 50s. a week		
<i>G</i> and <i>H</i> — middle class and above		749,980 or 7.8 %
IN COMFORT		69.3 %
Inmates of institutions		99,830
Total		4,309,000

From this classification it appears that classes *A* to *D* — “those sinking into want” — constituted 30.7 per cent or nearly one-third of the whole population; while classes *E* to *H* — those “in comfort rising to affluence” — constituted 69.3 per cent of the whole.

In 1899 Mr. B. Seebohm Rowntree, with his assistants, made a house-to-house inquiry, covering 11,560 families, two-thirds of the population of the city of York, England. His tables are not directly comparable with those of Mr. Booth, owing to the fact that they are based on the total family income, instead of the weekly wages of the chief wage-earner, and owing also to his different division of classes. Table XXXIV. presents the results of his classification by income.

Applying Mr. Rowntree's minimum income standard of 21s. 8d. — estimated on the basis of scientifically determined food values — to this table, it appears that 7230 persons had less than this amount weekly, and 2312 others not more than 2s. above it. Mr. Rowntree finally concluded that 27.84 per cent of the population of York below the “servant-keeping” class were in poverty; that is, were “living in a state of poverty (total earnings insufficient to supply adequate food, clothing, and shelter for the maintenance of physical

efficiency) or so near to that state that they are liable to sink into it at any moment.”

TABLE XXXIV.

CLASSIFICATION OF THE POPULATION OF YORK BY INCOME.

(Rowntree, p. 21.)

CLASS.	FAMILY INCOME FOR MODERATE FAMILY, <i>i.e.</i> TWO ADULTS PLUS TWO TO FOUR CHILDREN.	NUMBER IN EACH CLASS.	PERCENTAGE IN EACH CLASS OF TOTAL WAGE-EARNERS.*	PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL POPULATION.
A	Under 18s. per week . . . Earning Money, Average 11s. 1589 Dependent on Charity, 368	1,957	4.2	2.6
B	19s. and under 21s. . . . Above 21s. and under 21s. 8d. 781	4,492	9.6	5.9
C	21s. and under 30s. . . .	15,710	33.6	20.7
D	Over 30s.	24,595	52.6	32.4
E	Female Domestic Servants .	4,296		5.7
F	Servant-keeping Class . .	21,830		28.8
G	In Public Institutions . .	2,932		8.9
		75,812	100.0	100.0

* Excluding domestic servants and those in public institutions.

As to the amount of poverty in the United States there is not even an approximate measure. Mr. Robert Hunter made an estimate of the number of persons in distress in New York and Boston in recent years, by collating the figures of institutional and outdoor relief, with these results:—

- 1903 20 per cent of the people of Boston in distress.
- 1897 19 per cent of the people of New York State in distress.
- 1899 18 per cent of the people of New York in distress.
- 1903 14 per cent of the families of Manhattan evicted every year.
- 10 per cent (about) of those who die in Manhattan have pauper burials.

On this basis he estimated — “conservatively” — that certainly not less than 14 per cent of the people in prosperous times, and probably not less than 20 per cent in bad times, are in distress.¹ The number of unknown and variable factors in such an estimate make it of no value for the purpose of comparison, but it has served, nevertheless, to direct attention to the question as to how much of this distress is remediable.

Mr. Frederick L. Hoffmann, statistician, has recently called attention to the available statistics on pauperism in the State documents, especially those of Massachusetts, New York, Connecticut, and Indiana.² The annual reports of the Massachusetts State Board of Charity show that the number of paupers in institutions increased from 4.3 per 1000 of the population in 1877–1886 to 4.4 during 1887–1896 and finally to 5.1 during the last ten years. At the same time there has been a material increase in the per capita cost of support. In the city of Boston, on the other hand, the number of paupers per 1000 of the population declined from 2.3 in 1888 to 1.5 in 1905. Mr. Hoffmann does not argue from these and other interesting data which he quotes that poverty or pauperism is increasing or decreasing, but merely urges that here exists the material for ascertaining the causes and progress of pauperism in certain localities and for a history of poor-law administration.

From the standpoint of prevention and relief it is of far less importance to know just how many people are in distress than to know how to save them from falling into it or how to extricate them from it. In recent years relief workers have laid increasing emphasis on the necessity of adequate relief; while neighborhood workers, with equal insistence, have declared that the total income of many decent and hard-working people was so much below a living stand-

¹ Hunter, “Poverty,” pp. 20–27.

² N. C. C., 1907, p. 132 ff.; 12 valuable tables.

ard that degeneration, if not dependence, must be the result. As we have seen, in the studies of Booth and Rowntree, a "poverty line" was established, below which the struggle for existence must inevitably end in a degree of failure. Stimulated by these studies and influenced by their own experience, charity agents, settlement workers, and philanthropists generally have concentrated their research upon the determination of the poverty line in American cities.

It has generally been conceded that the standard of living of the working classes in the United States is considerably above that of Europe, but there has been very little accurate information as to what that standard was in given localities or what its relation was to the standard of compensation. In this country the first step has been to ascertain the incomes of considerable bodies of the population and how those incomes were spent. Three studies on the standards and cost of living have already been published: one, of 25,440 workmen's families throughout the United States having less than \$1200 a year income, by the United States Commissioner of Labor; a second, of 200 families in New York City, by Mrs. Louise Boland More, under the auspices of the Greenwich House Committee on Social Investigations; and a third, of 612 families (chiefly in New York City), by the Special Committee on Standard of Living of the New York State Conference of Charities and Corrections.¹ It would be impossible to compare the results of these studies with the European investigations because of differences of methods and of standards both of living and compensation; but they are readily comparable with each other.

Out of the total 25,440 families investigated by the Bureau of Labor, 11,156 were selected as "normal" families; that

¹ Eighteenth Annual Report U. S. Commissioner of Labor, 1903. More, "Wage-earners' Budgets," 1907. Frankel, Preliminary Report of Special Committee on Standard of Living, N. Y. Conference of Charities and Corrections, 1907.

TABLE XXXV.

INCOME AND EXPENDITURE IN 11,156 NORMAL FAMILIES*

Having an Average Income of \$350.98 a year, for an Average Family of 3.96 Persons.

CLASSIFIED INCOME.	TOTAL FAMILIES.	EXPENDITURE PER FAMILY FOR							Total of All.
		Rent.	Fuel.	Lighting.	Clothing.	Sundries.	Total of Preceding.	Food.	
Income under \$200	82	83.16	13.10	2.48	17.00	30.52	96.26	99.59	196.85
Income \$200 or under \$300	115	56.29	19.01	3.54	27.05	58.62	164.51	147.84	312.36
Income \$300 or under \$400	545	72.59	23.20	4.41	38.94	62.52	201.66	196.85	388.51
Income \$400 or under \$500	1676	86.54	25.83	5.20	53.10	76.91	247.58	218.46	466.04
Income \$500 or under \$600	2264	99.55	27.46	6.05	64.69	92.99	290.74	249.28	540.02
Income \$600 or under \$700	2336	113.03	28.45	6.82	78.76	118.59	345.65	285.93	611.58
Income \$700 or under \$800	2094	125.82	26.72	7.78	93.53	149.78	405.92	287.03	692.65
Income \$800 or under \$900	806	131.51	29.88	8.47	104.58	177.39	451.78	318.90	770.58
Income \$900 or under \$1000	684	143.53	31.44	9.08	117.10	189.45	490.60	325.66	816.26
Income \$1000 or under \$1100	340	157.74	33.95	10.39	135.50	213.16	550.74	349.00	899.74
Income \$1100 or under \$1200	98	161.42	35.35	10.55	144.89	254.22	606.43	368.66	978.09
Income \$1200 or over	168	183.08	40.54	12.44	165.44	267.32	648.82	383.64	1062.46
Total	11,156	111.97	28.20	6.92	79.96	124.26	351.33	266.47	617.80

* 16th An. Rept. U. S. B. of Labor, p. 556.

is, families having the husband at work; a wife; not more than five children and none over 14 years of age; no dependent, boarder, lodger, or servant; and expenditures for rent, fuel, lighting, food, clothing, and sundries.

Table XXXV. shows the expenditure per family for various purposes, by classified income.

Translating the table into per cents, a comparison of the per cent expended for each purpose according to the size of the family income can easily be made in the following table:—

TABLE XXXVI.

**PER CENT OF EXPENDITURE FOR VARIOUS PURPOSES IN 11,156
NORMAL FAMILIES, BY CLASSIFIED INCOME.**

CLASSIFIED INCOME.	RENT.	FUEL.	LIGHTING.	FOOD.	CLOTHING.	SUNDRIES.	TOTAL.
Under \$200	16.93	6.69	1.27	50.85	8.68	15.58	100.0
\$200 or under \$300	18.02	6.09	1.13	47.33	8.66	18.77	100.0
\$300 or under \$400	18.69	5.97	1.14	48.09	10.02	16.09	100.0
\$400 or under \$500	18.57	5.54	1.12	46.88	11.39	16.50	100.0
\$500 or under \$600	18.43	5.09	1.12	46.16	11.98	17.22	100.0
\$600 or under \$700	18.48	4.65	1.12	43.48	12.88	19.39	100.0
\$700 or under \$800	18.17	4.14	1.12	41.44	13.50	21.63	100.0
\$800 or under \$900	17.07	3.87	1.10	41.37	13.57	23.02	100.0
\$900 or under \$1000	17.58	3.85	1.11	39.90	14.36	23.21	100.0
\$1000 or under \$1100	17.53	3.77	1.16	38.79	15.06	23.69	100.0
\$1100 or under \$1200	16.59	3.63	1.08	37.68	14.89	26.13	100.0
\$1200 or over	17.40	3.85	1.18	36.46	15.72	25.40	100.0
Total	18.12	4.57	1.12	43.13	13.95	20.11	100.0

A study of these percentages shows that all of the economic propositions laid down by Dr. Engel, the German statistician, in 1857, which have been a standard of comparison ever since, do not hold for American families.

Dr. Engel's propositions were:—

First.—That the greater the income, the smaller the percentage of outlay for subsistence.

Second. — That the percentage of outlay for clothing is approximately the same, whatever the income.

Third. — That the percentage for lodging or rent and for fuel and lighting, is invariably the same, whatever the income.

Fourth. — That as the income increases in amount, the percentage of outlay for sundries becomes greater.

The first and the fourth are confirmed in the United States, for the per cent for food falls from 50 to 36, as income increases, and for sundries rises from 15 to 25; but the second does not hold, for the expenditure for clothing rises with income from 8 to 15 per cent. The third appears to be only partially true, for the percentage of rent only varies slightly as the income rises and that for lighting even less, while the expenditure for fuel falls from 6.69 to 3.85 per cent.

Setting aside for the present the question of whether the lower grades of income are sufficient to maintain even physical efficiency, we notice that the surplus income over necessities in the higher grades is spent chiefly in clothing and sundries. It must be remembered that the clothing expenditure is for two adults and from two to five children; and that "sundries" includes savings and all outlay for sickness, insurance, dues, church, charity, equipment, education, and pleasure. Table XXXVII. shows the average expenditure for these purposes for 2567 families reporting in detail.

Scanning these expenditures in detail and measuring them by the American idea of decency, it does not seem that those families had too much to eat and to wear or too many luxuries. Certainly 16.7 cents per day per person for food is not overfeeding, even if 3.31 of those persons are not adults. Professor Jaffa, investigating the food standards of three groups of Chinese in California, measured them by Professor Atwater's standard for a man at moderate work, and concluded that they were just sufficiently fed on 18 to 21 cents per person per day. If

TABLE XXXVII.
AVERAGE EXPENDITURE OF 2587 FAMILIES*
Having an Average Income of \$827.19 for an Average Family of 5.31 Persons. (1901.)

EXPENDITURE FOR	AVERAGE.	PER CENT OF TOTAL EXPENDITURE.	EXPENDITURE FOR SUNDRIES IN DETAIL.	AVERAGE.	PER CENT OF TOTAL EXPENDITURE.
Food	\$326.90	42.54	Furniture and Utensils	\$26.31	3.42
Rent	99.49	12.96	Insurance, Life and Property .	20.97	2.73
Fuel	32.23	4.19	Sickness and Death	20.54	2.67
Lighting	8.15	1.06	Liquor	12.44	1.62
Clothing :	107.84	14.06	Tobacco	10.98	1.42
Husband			Amusements and Vacation . .	12.28	1.60
Wife			Mortgages and Interest on Home	12.13	1.58
Children			Labor and Other Organization		
Sundries	193.93	25.22	Fees	9.06	1.17
Total	\$768.54	100.00	Books and Papers	8.85	1.09
			Religious Purposes	7.62	.99
			Taxes	5.79	.75
			Charity	2.89	.31
			Other Purposes	46.13	5.97

* 12th An. Rep. Bu. of Labor, p. 668.

\$193.93 seems at first sight an ample amount for sundries, a consideration of the separate items certainly dispels the idea. For instance, \$20.54 for sickness and death must include the expense of child-bearing, of accidents,—to which laborers are especially liable,—and of children's diseases,—to which the workingman's children are frequently exposed. Even with the recourse of free clinics and dispensaries, this amount would scarcely cover a single case of serious illness in the year, much less provide for good nursing or food and care to restore a wage-earner to efficient condition. Nor does \$12.28 seem an undue amount to spend in a year for the recreation of five persons; even if liquor and tobacco, for which \$23.37 on the average is expended per year, be included as the "recreation" of the man, it leaves only \$2.85 apiece for the amusements and vacation of the rest of the family. The category of "Other Purposes"—\$45.13—must include car fares, which, as we shall see from other studies, varies in New York City from \$14.00 to \$18.84 per family, dentistry, tools, education, and "spending money,"—in short, all the miscellaneous expenses of the family.

In comparison with the 9062 families in Table XXXV., p. 162, whose incomes were less than \$800, these 2567 families must be relatively well off, yet nearly one-fifth of them had a deficit in the year 1901. Table XXXVIII. shows how some of them met it.

It appears that more than half of the 507 families having a deficit were in debt. The showing of the families in Table XXXV. is even less favorable, for, of 25,440 reporting on this subject, almost one-sixth had an average deficit of \$65.68 each, and a third just came out even.

The most intensive study yet made of the standards and cost of living in this country is that by Mrs. More, of Greenwich Settlement House, New York City. It presents a detail picture of the conditions of life of 200 families in the

TABLE XXXVIII.

. SURPLUS OR DEFICIT OF 2567 FAMILIES

Having an Average Income of \$827.19 and an Average Family of 5.31
Persons.

Having a Surplus	1559	
Having neither Surplus nor Deficit	482	
Having Deficit but Making Payment on Owned House .	19	
Having Deficit	507	
Manner of Meeting Deficit :		
Obtained Credit		244
From Former Savings		94
Mortgage on Real Estate or Furniture . . .		8
Borrowed Money		18
Other Methods		8
Not Reported		150
Total	2567	507

years 1903-1905, in a city where the struggle for existence is most intense, and it has the merit of an unusual degree of critical thoroughness because of the investigator's friendly relations with the neighborhood. Professor Franklin H. Giddings has pointed out that whatever error is involved in this study is necessarily an error of under- rather than over-statement, since the 200 families making up the final list were those able and cordially willing to coöperate with Mrs. More; they were, therefore, in point of intelligence and character, somewhat above the average of the class in which their economic lot was cast.¹

As in all such studies, by far the most valuable portion of the work is the comment upon the statistical tables, which, in this case, shows a rarely sympathetic and judicial attitude of mind. Only the briefest summaries can be reproduced here for the purpose of ascertaining the conditions of poverty which tend to produce dependence. The income and expenses of these 200 families are shown in Table XXXIX.

¹ Preface by Professor Giddings, pp. iii-v.

TABLE XXXIX.
AVERAGE INCOME AND EXPENDITURES ACCORDING TO CLASSIFIED INCOMES.*

Income.	Total Families.	Average Size.	Average Income.	AVERAGE EXPENDITURES PER FAMILY FOR							Average Surplus or Deficit.
				Food.	Rent.	Cloth- ing.	Light and Fuel.	Insur- ance.	Sundries.	Total Expend- ture.	
\$200-\$400	11	4.2	\$114.00	\$158.14	\$109.07	\$28.10	\$23.45	\$17.14	\$23.83	\$357.73	- 13.64
400-500	16	4.7	154.97	205.28	119.04	43.13	28.75	20.72	45.10	444.92	- 7.95
500-600	16	5.2	549.05	230.79	195.10	47.44	33.77	17.74	55.10	560.00	- 10.13
600-700	29	5.1	651.14	290.06	142.55	59.16	37.36	30.04	88.78	670.92	- 5.81
700-800	27	5.3	746.78	328.63	160.81	68.27	47.52	40.04	103.84	739.41	7.37
800-900	25	5.9	830.00	350.00	154.89	85.55	44.51	26.10	140.87	831.92	5.52
900-1000	19	6.2	946.58	433.14	165.89	88.43	45.50	43.81	167.80	944.57	2.01
1000-1200	28	6.0	1064.11	456.20	180.72	113.04	47.39	37.53	211.30	1046.18	17.93
1200-1500	18	7.2	1325.11	510.19	231.89	146.33	57.73	47.48	296.18	1289.90	35.61
1500+	11	6.1	1710.09	640.04	245.84	252.51	47.63	38.61	389.50	1517.82	102.97
	200	5.6	\$851.38	\$363.42	\$162.26	\$88.45	\$42.11	\$32.35	\$147.31	\$836.25	\$15.13

* More, "Wage-earners' Budgets," p. 55.

This summary shows that as the income increases the size of the family increases also, and that *all* expenditures for *all* purposes increase as the income increases, the family becoming larger at the same time. It shows further that the *deficit* natural to the group of smallest incomes, having an average of \$344.09 for 4.2 persons in the family, decreases quite steadily until the group having an average income of \$746.78 is reached, in which the size of the family has only increased to 5.3; then there begins to be a surplus, which remains a surplus, though not a regularly increasing one, until the income is between \$1000 and \$1200, from which point it increases rapidly. The point of most importance to be noted is the constant interdependence of the size of the family and the income, and of the resulting surplus or deficit.¹ The summary shows also the total results of the entire investigation. The total average income is \$851.38, of which \$836.25 was expended, leaving a surplus of only \$15.13, unless the amount paid for insurance — \$32.25 — be added, which is considered by the people a form of savings.

The income and expenditure of these families by nativity of the chief wage-earner is shown in Table XL. (p. 170).

Some interesting racial comparisons are suggested by this table, which shows that 52.5 per cent of the 200 families were native and 47.5 per cent foreign born. The foreign families had the largest average income, \$889.81, as compared with \$816.61 for the native, and the largest families, 6 persons as against 5.3 persons for the native. Making allowance for this, the foreigners still have the larger income and the larger surplus. Omitting the nationalities having only 1 to 4 families, it is noticeable that the Irish have the largest per cent of income expended and the largest average deficit, while the German and Italian families were the most

¹ More, pp. 60-61, a digest rather than full quotation of the most striking conclusions.

TABLE XL.

SUMMARY OF INCOME AND EXPENDITURES IN 200 FAMILIES BY THE NATIVITY OF THE HEAD OF THE FAMILY.

	TOTAL FAMILIES.	AVERAGE INCOME.	TOTAL EXPENDITURES.	AVERAGE SURPLUS OR DEFICIT.	AVERAGE SIZE OF FAMILY.
United States . . .	105	\$816.61	\$804.15	\$12.46	5.8
Ireland	35	852.88	867.22	— 14.39	6.4
England	15	927.80	929.20	— 1.40	5.9
Germany	17	1032.14	982.43	49.71	5.9
Italy	15	846.80	841.05	5.75	6.6
France	4	558.50	554.75	3.75	4.0
Norway and Sweden	4	1171.75	854.25	317.50	3.5
Switzerland . . .	2	792.00	774.50	17.50	5.0
Austria	1	731.00	731.00	0.00	6.0
Scotland	1	832.00	832.00	0.00	8.0
Cuba	1	450.00	460.00	— 10.00	4.0
Total Foreign .	95	\$889.81	\$871.74	\$18.07	6.0
Total U. S. and Foreign	200	\$851.38	\$836.25	\$15.13	5.6

provident. The English families were scarcely able to keep out of debt and saved nothing, although the deficit is owing to the exceptional circumstance of three deaths in one family.¹ The contrast between the Irish and Germans is especially striking, as shown by the comparison on page 171.

The Irish families spent more for food, light and fuel, clothing, and sundries and had a deficit, and the German families spent more for rent and insurance and saved \$30.

There were only 23 families out of the 200 where the father's earnings were the sole source of income. Of the total average income of \$851.88, 63.5 per cent came from

¹ More, pp. 66-74.

TABLE XII.*
INCOME AND EXPENDITURES OF IRISH AND GERMAN FAMILIES.

NATIVITY.	AVERAGE INCOME.	SIZE.	EXPENDITURE FOR						TOTAL EXPENDITURE.	SURPLUS OR DEFICIT.
			Food.	Rent.	Clothing.	Light and Fuel.	Insurance.	Sundries.		
Irish . .	\$1038.83	7.7%	\$539.83	\$164.17	\$110.20	\$53.20	\$34.23	\$193.37	\$1038.00	- \$9.17
German	1034.75	6.5%	518.70	199.50	105.25	46.93	47.00	117.35	1034.75	+ 30.00

* More, p. 74.

the husbands' labor, 9.4 per cent from that of the wives, 11.5 per cent from the children, 9.2 per cent from boarders or lodgers, and 6.4 per cent from other sources. It is customary for the wage-earning children over 14 to give all they earn to the mother, the boys until they are 18 years old and the girls until 21, after which they pay board and keep the rest for themselves. On the whole the husbands furnish the greater part of the income, but the amounts from the other members of the family is surprisingly large. On the effect of this system Mrs. More says: —

“The popular impression, outside the working class, seems to be that the entire income of the workingman's family is from the earnings of the head of the family. This implies that if the head of the family is an unskilled day laborer, the income of his family is of that grade. On the contrary, some of the largest incomes in this study are of this class. The fact is there are comparatively few families of wage-earners who are entirely dependent on the earnings of the head of the family. This may be true in families where there are several young children, and the wife's strength is needed at home, but even then it is surprising how frequently other sources of income are added, such as gifts from friends, from employers at Christmas, presents of clothing for the children, help from relatives or churches and charitable societies in the poorer families, etc. As the children grow older and require less care at home, the mother takes in sewing or goes out washing, secures a janitor's place, cleans offices, and does whatever she can to increase the weekly income. She feels this to be her duty, and often it is necessary, but frequently it has a disastrous effect on the ambition of the husband. As soon as he sees that his wife can help support the family, his interest and sense of responsibility are likely to lessen, and he works irregularly or spends more on himself. There are, of course, many families in which this united income is needed when the man's illness or incapacity makes it imperative for the wife to help. Sometimes it is due to thrift and an ambition to save money for the future or for some definite purpose. Charitable societies generally deplore the prevalence of this custom because of its economic and moral results on the head of the family.”

Table XLII. shows the financial condition of the 200 families at the end of the year.

TABLE XLII.

SURPLUS OR DEFICIT, 200 FAMILIES.

(More, p. 108.)

TOTAL FAMILIES.	NO. OF FAMILIES REPORTING.			AVERAGE SURPLUS.	AVERAGE DEFICIT.	AVERAGE SURPLUS FOR 200 FAMILIES.
	Surplus.	Deficit.	Neither Surplus nor Deficit.			
200	47	55	98	\$104.37	\$34.18	\$15.18

Only 47 families had a surplus at the end of the year, leaving 153, of whom 55 had a deficit and 98 just made ends meet.

Among the 200 families, 27 were technically dependent; that is, they had received aid during the year from an organized charity. Concerning the difficulty of deciding just what families were in this class, Mrs. More says:—

“Almost every family of small income received some help or other from friends or relatives in the shape of clothing for the children, money for the rent, or occasional gifts to carry the family over a tight place. In the entire number investigated there were over sixty instances discovered of this fraternal helpfulness. To each of these families personal friends or relatives had given from \$5 to \$150 in money or clothing. Frequently, were it not for their friends, these families would have been obliged to go to some organized charity for aid, but as they did not, they cannot properly be classed as dependents, according to our definition of dependency. In addition to gifts from more prosperous parents, relatives, sons away from home, and friends, this assistance often came in the form of small legacies, gifts from former employers, Christmas gifts from landlords and present employers, allowances from sick-benefit societies, gifts to the children from their godparents, and so on. Assistance of this nature cannot be considered as making the recipients dependent. All these families did not ask for aid, but it was voluntarily given by a church, settlement, or district worker who knew the needs of the family.”¹

¹ “Wage-earners’ Budgets,” p. 117.

Omitting two families whose circumstances were exceptional, the facts in regard to average income, expenditure, deficit, and aid given are shown in Table XLIII. for 25 families.

The causes of dependency were illness in 6 cases and death in 6 cases, drink a principal cause in 5 and contributory in 5 others, unemployment in 3 — “generally due to intemperance.” Estimated by the unit-method,¹ sickness and death accounted for 42 per cent and drink and unemployment for 40 per cent of all cases. In addition, the size of the family and the fact that few of the children were of wage-earning age was contributory in families having medium incomes. Among the 36 children in the 7 families having incomes over \$600, only 5 were old enough to contribute to the family income. This is strikingly in agreement with Miss Brandt’s analysis of 1527 Charity Organization Society cases in 1905.² The largest family had also the largest income and the largest deficit. Mrs. More says of it: —

“This family of 10 is the most completely pauperized one in the study. Owing to a most irregular income and a large family under 14 years of age, with only two wage-earners, the father and one son (one or the other of whom was generally out of work), this family received charity from whatever source it could be obtained. As its character was well known to charitable societies, they gave relief only in small amounts which we have estimated at \$36 a year. In addition to this, the woman’s parents sent them \$55 and even with this outside aid the debts of the butcher, grocer, etc., amounted to \$75. This is a striking example of a truly dependent family in spite of a fair-sized income. The causes of dependency were a large family under working age, lack of ambition and perseverance on the part of the father, which resulted in irregular and infrequent employment and unsteady income. The wife was a good manager, but was handicapped by such an irregular income.”³

The relation between dependence and income and ex-

¹ See p. 44, *ante*.

² See p. 155, *ante*.

³ “Wage-earners’ Budgets,” p. 119.

TABLE XLIII.
COMPARISONS OF INCOMES AND EXPENDITURES OF DEPENDENT FAMILIES, WITH AVERAGES FOR ALL FAMILIES BY CLASSIFIED INCOMES.*
25 Dependent Families—Income under \$900.

INCOME.	NO. OF FAMILIES.	SIZE OF FAMILIES.	AVERAGE INCOME.	AVERAGE AID GIVEN.	AVERAGE EXPENDITURE FOR						TOTAL EXPENDITURE.	SURPLUS OR DEFICIT.
					Food.	Rent.	Clothing.	Light and Fuel.	Insurance.	Sundries.		
\$200-400	7	4.4	\$237.00	\$39.29	\$168.72	\$108.39	\$24.44	\$24.62	\$19.18	\$20.27	\$355.57	-\$18.57
400-500	6	6.3	435.41	34.17	186.83	121.17	49.00	27.57	26.52	31.74	442.83	- 7.42
500-600	7	6.1	545.57	42.72	291.57	126.93	47.43	31.20	14.34	53.38	507.86	- 22.99
600-700	4	6.2	658.50	41.50	318.50	146.12	47.50	37.70	20.45	100.98	671.25	- 12.75
800-900	1	10.0	810.00	36.00	416.00	138.00	175.00	48.00	.	108.00	895.00	- 75.00
Total below \$300 . .	20	5.6	439.52	38.96	213.85	118.72	39.85	27.61	19.67*	36.35	455.05	- 16.53
Total below \$900 . .	25	5.9	489.38	39.24	238.52	128.87	46.48	30.20	19.01*	49.56	507.64	- 18.26

* More, "Wage-earners' Budgets," p. 131.

penditure of dependent and independent families having incomes under \$600 and under \$900 is shown in Table XLIV.

From this comparative table Mrs. More concludes: (1) in dependent families, the families are larger and the income smaller; (2) while their expenditures are smaller for the various purposes named, their deficits are larger, showing careful management and justifying the receipt of charity; (3) the averages of the expenditures of the 23 so-called independent poor families having incomes under \$600 (11 of whom had received aid from friends and relatives) represents a fair average minimum expenditure for existence in New York City without receiving charity aid. But, she adds:—

“The writer does not consider these expenditures sufficient to maintain physical efficiency with the present cost of living in this city, for each one of these families suffered moral and physical deterioration, and some of them are in a state of disintegration which must prove fatal to the family group unless conditions change and a larger and steadier income is possible in the immediate future. The average size of these families was 4.1. Families of 2 or 3 with wonderful management might live on this income without going to pieces, but it does not seem possible for families of 4 or over. How much worse is the condition of the dependent families in this group. Even with the help received, they tried to support an average family of 5.6 on an average income of \$439.52. Their expenditures for the necessities of life fell below the normal standard of other poor families, and even then they were burdened with a deficit of \$16.53. The statistics of dependent families and of all those having incomes of less than \$600 a year show how inadequate such incomes are to support families of average size without assistance or without indebtedness.”¹

The third study, also of conditions in New York City, made by the Committee on Standard of Living of the State Conference of Charities and Corrections in 1907, covers a larger number of families than Mrs. More's. It was made, however, by interviewers among scattered families, and

¹ “Wage-earners' Budgets,” p. 124.

TABLE XLIV.
COMPARISON OF DEPENDENT AND INDEPENDENT FAMILIES.
Incomes under \$600.

	NUM- BER OF FAM- ILIES	AVER- AGE AGE SIZE.	AVERAGE INCOME.	AVERAGE EXPENDITURE FOR —						TOTAL EXPENDI- TURE.	SURPLUS OR DEFICIT.
				Food.	Rent.	Cloth- ing.	Light and Fuel.	Insur- ance.	Sub- sided.		
Dependent Families .	20	5.5	\$439.52	\$213.55	\$118.72	\$39.85	\$27.81	\$19.67*	\$36.35	\$436.05	— \$16.53
Independent Families†	23	4.1	481.39	227.99	119.52	40.82	30.53	17.76*	49.49	486.11	— 4.72
Total for All Families	43	4.8	\$461.92	\$221.32	\$119.10	\$40.37	\$29.27	\$18.69*	\$43.38	\$472.13	— \$10.21
Incomes under \$900.											
Dependent Families .	25	5.9	\$469.38	\$238.52	\$123.87	\$46.48	\$30.20	\$19.01*	\$49.56	\$507.64	— \$18.26
Independent Families†	99	5.0	682.77	308.63	144.09	63.36	40.23	28.62*	96.97	680.89	— 1.88
Total for All Families	124	5.2	\$643.78	\$284.49	\$140.91	\$59.96	\$38.21	\$26.68*	\$66.62	\$545.96	— \$2.18

* Not all families carried insurance.

† Those families who have received no assistance from an organized charity.

lacks, on the one hand, the breadth of view of the Bureau of Labor inquiry and, on the other, the intimate personal knowledge shown in Mrs. More's investigation. The preliminary report — which is all that is yet available — is of distinct value, nevertheless, and is in several important points directly comparable with the others. The Committee states that very early in the inquiry it was decided to limit the schedules to a family of five persons — “husband, wife, and three children under working age” — with an income over \$600 and under \$1000. The schedules showing incomes from \$300 to \$600 were thrown out because they indicated that these families had an exceptionally low standard of living and were not independent of outside assistance. Table XLV. summarizes the results for 230 “normal” families in Greater New York.

Group I., having the lowest income and a deficit, expended 22½ cents per day per man for food and \$13 per month for rent. For this they can obtain in Manhattan from 2 to 3 rooms, — “low and comparatively small and one room with no window to the outer air or none at all,” — without bathing or toilet facilities. They spend \$91 a year for clothing and washing materials, and one-third of them received gifts of clothing from relatives, churches, or charities — “if more clothing is desired, it must be purchased on the instalment plan or by cutting down the other important items in the budget, particularly food.”

Only \$11 is expended for sickness, and if illness lasts any length of time the family runs into debt; \$5 for education, — chiefly the daily newspaper, — 50 cents to \$1 for postage and school supplies, nothing for books. Whenever there are any savings at all, it is due to exceptionally favorable conditions. The conclusion of the Committee as to this group may be stated in its own words: —

“The Committee is of the opinion that an income between \$600–700 per annum is insufficient for a family of five to maintain a

TABLE XLV.

COST OF LIVING OF 230 FAMILIES IN GREATER NEW YORK.* (1907.)

FIVE PERSONS IN FAMILY — HUSBAND, WIFE, 3 CHILDREN UNDER 14 YEARS OF AGE.	GROUP I. \$600 - \$700.		GROUP II. \$700 - \$800.		GROUP III. \$800 - \$900.	
Average income	\$650.00		\$746.00		\$845.00	
No. of families	76		83		71	
EXPENDITURE FOR	AMOUNT EXPENDED.	PER CENT.	AMOUNT EXPENDED.	PER CENT.	AMOUNT EXPENDED.	PER CENT.
Food	\$288.00	43.9	\$342.00	45.8	\$367.00	45.4
Rent	154.00	23.5	156.00	20.9	167.00	20.7
Clothing . .	91.00	13.9	102.00	13.6	112.00	13.8
Light and Fuel	35.00	5.3	37.00	4.9	39.00	4.8
Insurance . .	18.00	2.7	19.00	2.5	19.00	2.5
Sundries . . .	70.00	10.7	90.00	12.0	103.00	12.7
Total Expended	\$656.00	100.0	\$746.00	100.0	\$807.00	100.0
Deficit or Surplus . . .	- 6.		±		+ 38.	

* Preliminary Report, p. 12.

proper standard of living in the Borough of Manhattan. Leaving aside the exceptions, it is apparent that on an income of \$600-700 many families in Manhattan have a fierce struggle for existence. The maximum of food purchases approximates the minimum set up by authorities on this subject. The narrowest margin is allowed for other essentials. No provision can be made for accident or emergency. If either of these occur, the family runs into debt. Were it not for the charity of friends, relatives, employers, or philanthropic organizations, the expenditure of the family would be, and frequently is, larger than the income.

“Such a family literally lives a hand-to-mouth existence, with neither opportunity nor means for enjoyment or recreation. It can make no provision for repairs to equipment. The health of its members cannot

be safe-guarded from its own resources. The housing accommodations barely prevent crowding. *It requires no citation of elaborate statistics to bring convincing proof that \$600-\$700 is wholly inadequate to maintain a proper standard of living, and no self-respecting family should be asked or expected to live on such an income.*"¹

Without discussing the situation of Group II. and Group III. in detail, we may quote the Committee's conclusions:²

"Group II. — *The Committee believes that with an income of \$700-\$800 a family can barely support itself, provided that it is subject to no extraordinary expenditures by reason of sickness, death, or other untoward circumstances. Such a family can live without charitable assistance through exceptional management and in the absence of emergencies.*

"Group III. — In view of all these facts, the Committee is of the opinion that it is fairly conservative in its estimate that \$825 is sufficient for the average family of 5 individuals, comprising the father, mother, and 3 children under 14 years of age to maintain a fairly proper standard of living in the Borough of Manhattan. The extent to which this would be changed in other boroughs of Greater New York would be measured largely by the item of rent and not by the other items in the budget."

In Table XLVI. the results of the three American investigations are summarized for the class whose incomes ranged from \$800 to \$900. This is the group called "representative" by Mrs. More, and whose income is believed by the Special Committee to be sufficient to maintain a "fairly proper" standard of living in New York City.

The uniformity of the three studies on almost every item of expenditure is remarkable; for the food of 5 to 5.6 persons the expenditure was \$326-\$367; that is, from 42 to 45 per cent of the total income. The outlay for rent was \$162 to \$167 in New York, — about 20 per cent of income, — but from \$99 to \$131, or only 13 to 16 per cent of income, in the United States at large. Clothing ranged from \$88 to \$112 for a family, that is, from 10 to 14 per cent of income; fuel

¹ Preliminary Report, pp. 17-18.

² Preliminary Report, p. 20.

TABLE XLVI.
COMPARISON OF THREE AMERICAN STUDIES OF INCOME AND EXPENDITURE.

	300 FAMILIES IN N. Y. CITY. ^a (MORE.)		220 FAMILIES IN N. Y. CITY, 1907. [†] (SPEC. COM.)		U. S. DEPT. OF LABOR FOR 2367 FAMILIES. [‡]		U. S. DEPT. OF LABOR FOR 175 "NORMAL" FAMILIES. [‡]	
Average income . . .	\$851.98		\$845.00		\$827.19		\$800-\$900	
Size of family . . .	5.6		5.00		5.31		5	
AVERAGE EXPENDITURE FOR	AMOUNT.		PER CENT.		AMOUNT.		PER CENT.	
Food	\$363.42		43.4		\$326.90		42.54	
Rent	162.26		19.4		99.49		12.95	
Clothing	88.45		10.6		107.84		14.04	
Fuel and Light	42.46		5.1		40.38		5.25	
Insurance (life)	32.35		3.9		19.44		2.53	
Sundries	147.31		17.6		179.49		22.69	
Total Expenditures . . .	\$836.25		100.0		\$768.54		100.0	
					\$790.00		100.00	

^a More, "Wage-earners' Budgets," p. 252.

[†] Prelim. Rept. Spec. Com. N. Y. Conf. of C. and C., p. 12.

[‡] 16th An. Rep. U. S. Com. of Labor, pp. 582-594.

and light scarcely varied from 5 per cent. Insurance and sundries together ranged from \$122 (family of 5 only) to \$179 and \$198 in groups with slightly larger families. In the 230 New York families whose insurance and sundries amounted to only \$122, it will be noticed that there is a correspondingly higher expenditure for clothing and food. Aside from this slight variation, there is no other which is not explained by the higher cost of living in New York City.

In Table XLVII. the results of the three inquiries are summarized by incomes. It must be remembered that Mrs. More's families averaged 5.6 persons, while the others are the "normal" families of 2 adults and 3 children under 14 years of age.

The summary table shows that with incomes less than \$600 from two-thirds to three-fourths of the total must be spent for food and rent alone, and this means, according to the New York observers, that these families are underfed, poorly clothed, and wretchedly housed, if they succeed in remaining independent; or that they must receive assistance from their friends and intermittently from charitable societies. The second group, having incomes from \$600 to \$900, spent 41 to 45 per cent for food and 17 to 23 per cent for rent; the bare necessities of life — food, shelter, clothing, warmth, and light — took 80 to 85 per cent of the entire income. If these remain independent, it can only be through escaping all emergency demands, doing without all comforts and pleasures, and having no savings, — in short they are constantly on the verge of dependence. Until the grade of \$800 to \$900 is reached, there is no margin left for thrift, education, and pleasure, and even then the margin will be small unless the income is very carefully expended. From these studies, the principle may be tentatively established that whenever the expenditures for the bare necessities of life — food, housing, clothing, light and fuel —

TABLE XLVII.
PERCENTAGE OF EXPENDITURES FOR VARIOUS PURPOSES IN NEW YORK FAMILIES AND 11,166
"NORMAL" FAMILIES IN THE UNITED STATES.

Income.	Food.			Rent.			Clothing.*			Light and Fuel.			Sundries.†		
	N.Y. (More.)	N.Y. (Sp. Comm.)	U.S.	N.Y. (More.)	N.Y. (Sp. Comm.)	U.S.	N.Y. (More.)	N.Y. (Sp. Comm.)	U.S.	N.Y. (More.)	N.Y. (Sp. Comm.)	U.S.	N.Y. (More.)	N.Y. (Sp. Comm.)	U.S.
Under \$200 .	..	..	50.8	..	..	16.9	..	..	8.6	..	..	7.9	..	..	15.5
\$200-300 {	44.2	..	47.3	30.5	..	18.0	7.3	..	8.6	6.5	..	7.2	11.5	..	18.7
300-400 }	..	..	48.0	..	..	18.0	..	..	10.0	..	..	7.1	..	..	16.0
400-500 .	44.4	..	40.8	25.9	..	18.6	9.3	..	11.3	6.2	..	6.6	14.2	..	16.5
500-600 .	50.1	..	46.1	22.4	..	18.4	8.5	..	11.9	6.0	..	6.2	13.0	..	17.2
600-700 .	45.5	43.9	43.4	21.7	23.5	18.4	9.0	13.9	12.8	5.7	5.3	5.7	18.1	..	19.8
700-800 .	44.2	45.8	41.4	21.2	20.9	18.1	9.2	13.6	13.6	6.4	4.9	5.2	19.0	13.4	21.6
800-900 .	45.8	45.4	41.3	18.6	20.7	17.0	10.3	13.8	13.5	5.4	4.8	4.9	19.9	14.5	23.0
900-1000 .	45.6	..	39.9	17.6	..	17.5	9.4	..	14.3	4.8	..	4.9	22.4	15.1	23.2
1000-1100 {	43.6	..	38.7	17.3	..	17.5	10.8	..	15.0	4.5	..	4.9	23.6	..	23.6
1100-1200 }	..	..	37.6	..	..	16.6	..	..	14.6	..	..	4.7	23.8	..	28.1
1200-1500 }	39.5	..	..	18.0	..	..	11.3	..	15.7	4.5	..	5.03	26.7	..	25.4
1500 or over }	35.8	..	36.4	16.2	..	17.4	16.6	..	15.7	3.2	..	..	28.2	..	..
Total . .	43.4	45.0	43.1	19.4	21.7	18.1	10.03	13.7	12.9	5.1	5.0	5.6	21.5	14.9	20.1

* Partial clothing for New York families.

† Including insurance.

take more than 80 per cent of the income, the family is on the verge of dependence.

What, then, is an adequate income for a family of five? The Special Committee concluded that \$600 to \$700 was totally inadequate, \$700 to \$800 a bare minimum efficiency income, and \$825 per year just sufficient. The report of the Commissioner of Labor showed that of 25,440 families of five persons, having an average income of \$749.50, one-half had a deficit or just came out even; and of 2567 selected families of 5.3 persons and \$827.00 average income, 1089 either had a deficit or just came out even. Mrs. More concludes that a well-nourished family of five in a city neighborhood needs \$6.00 a week for food. The total necessary expenditure on this scale would be \$720.00, that is, a steady income of \$14.00 per week, and if there were to be any savings the income should be \$800 to \$900 per year.

Just preceding the New York investigations, a number of estimates of a "fair-living wage" were made by different authorities: Robert Hunter, in 1904, set \$460 as the minimum "physical efficiency" wage; the New York Bureau of Labor set the living wage at \$520; John Mitchell, ex-president of the United Mine Workers of America, and Father John A. Ryan, the author of "A Living Wage," at \$600; the Massachusetts Bureau of Labor at \$724 for a family of five; the Maryland Bureau of Statistics \$742 for a family of six in Baltimore; and Miss Caroline Goodyear at \$1054 for a family of five in New York. The significant thing is that in proportion as accurate detailed information of the actual conditions of the poor is obtained the estimate of an adequate living income is steadily rising.

The primary factors in the cost of living are food and rent. Food is the elementary necessity, and the question of adequate income is primarily determined by the amount and cost of food required for proper nutrition. Not only the wage-earner's fitness for work, but the mother's fitness for

child-bearing and the children's growth and fitness for future wage-earning depend upon their being sufficiently fed. The item of food will be the first affected by any necessity for reducing expenses. On the subject of what is an adequate dietary standard there are many studies, but it is possible to mention here only the conclusions of those which refer to workingmen's families in New York City. Professor W. O. Atwater concluded from his dietary studies in New York in 1896 that a family could be sufficiently fed on 15 to 17 cents per man per day.¹ But this was in the year of lowest prices, and allowing 16 per cent for the rise in the general cost of living since then, the estimate should be not less than 17.5 to 20 cents. Measured by this standard, Mrs. More's 200 New York families spent 24.6 cents per man per day. "Assuming that Mr. Atwater's estimate is correct," Mrs. More says, "they were therefore extravagant through ignorance of dietary values and the nourishing qualities of different foods."

Miss Caroline Goodyear, in order to determine what is the minimum income which is sufficient for all the reasonable needs of dependent families in the care of the New York Charity Organization Society, made a study of the dietary habits of tenement-house families. In the typical case of dependence—a widow with three children—she concludes that an adequate supply of food would cost per week \$4.54, and that the presence of a workingman in the family would raise this estimate to \$6.00 or \$6.50.² This agrees with Mrs. More's estimate.

Shelter, unlike food and clothing, does not depend on the individual efforts of the family, but chiefly on the available tenements. Society may be said to have established the principle of a minimum standard of housing, although the

¹ Bulletin No. 46, Department of Agriculture, "Dietary Studies in New York," 1896.

² "Charities," etc., vol. xvi., 1906, pp. 191 ff.; vol. xvii., 1906, pp. 315 ff.

standard is nowhere strictly enforced.¹ According to the accepted definition of overcrowding — more than two persons in a room — only thirty-seven out of the two hundred New York families were overcrowded; yet the description of their homes given by Mrs. More shows that a much larger number were wretchedly housed. The New York Tenement-house Commission in its report for 1900 named the most serious evils in New York City: insufficient light and air, danger from fire, lack of separate toilet and washing facilities, overcrowding, and generally foul and unsanitary conditions. As a result of this report, a Tenement-house Department was created for the city of New York, which has accomplished important reforms. Although in most of the other cities in the United States there is no such tenement-house problem, yet the high death-rates — especially those of tuberculosis — indicate that unsanitary conditions of the most serious nature exist in them.²

The relation of overcrowding and unsanitary conditions to poverty is close and unmistakable. Charles Booth has shown that 30 per cent of the population of East London was in poverty, 31 per cent overcrowded, and that both the birth-rate and the death-rate were high in proportion to poverty and congestion. Overcrowding leads to early marriage and a high birth-rate; while unsanitary conditions and ignorance on the part of the young mother create a high death-rate among babies and young children. "All the influences (except the death-rate) on natural increase," says Mr. Booth, "have the effect of multiplying the number of the poor almost, it would seem, in proportion to their poverty, and operate in the other direction in the case of those who are better off, almost in proportion to their wealth."³ The net increase of the very poor, owing to their high death-rate, may be no greater than that of the

¹ Devine, "Principles of Relief," Chap. V.

² See Bibliography for the study of housing, p. 480. ³ Final volume, p. 23.

comfortable working class, but the waste of life is terrible. If to the cost of illness and death be added the expenditure of energy in child-bearing and the withdrawal of the mother from wage-earning, the mere economic loss involved in these conditions is incalculable.

The welfare of the family depends on the physical and moral quality of the parents. Among the poor there is a very clear understanding of their relative duties. The man must find the major part of the income; and if he is "respectable," he will take pride in bringing it home and giving all but a very small portion of it to the wife. If he is an unskilled laborer he will, as a rule, be inadequately paid and irregularly employed; if poorly paid and intermittently employed, he tends to become discouraged and to fall into shiftless if not vicious habits. Concerning employment in her two hundred families Mrs. More says:—

"Employment was so irregular during these two years that wages could scarcely ever be relied upon for the entire year. Often a man worked only two or three days in a week, during the months of the slack season, and then for some weeks during the rush season made a great deal working overtime. In estimating the total income, allowance has been made for these exceptions. It was interesting to find that many men had two occupations, summer and winter; for example, oysterman and tentmaker, . . . carpenter and longshoreman, etc. Wages in certain occupations rarely rise above a certain point. One man had been truckman for one firm for thirty-two years and his wages are now only \$14 per week. This is true in practically all unskilled occupations."¹

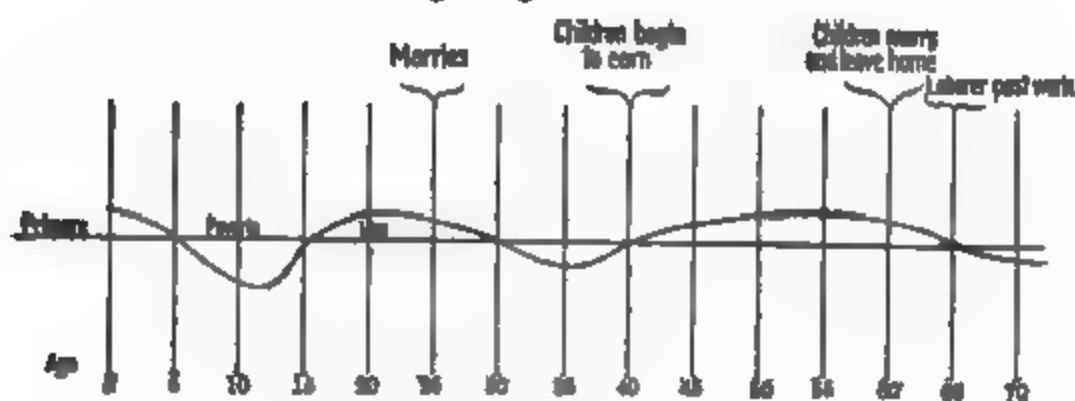
Under such circumstances the wife must supplement the income until one or more children become of working age, and in proportion as the wife and children eke out the income the man is liable to become less energetic or to bring less of his wages home. If the family gets to the point of asking charitable aid, it will often be found that the man will not stand the test of work when it is provided. A

¹ "Wage-earners' Budgets," p. 135.

crude measure of the degree of poverty is the amount of rough work done by mothers outside the home and by children under sixteen years of age.

The woman's share is, everywhere among the poor, the financial management. What the family gets out of the income depends almost wholly upon her intelligence. If she goes from a factory, store, or office to her new home, she has usually had no domestic training. She will make mistakes of ignorance and extravagance, but if conscientious, she will frequently manage wonderfully well, when necessity has given her some training.¹ There is often no margin for thrift, as all the observers have pointed out, but at the same time good management goes far toward making adequate an insufficient income. Yet at what personal sacrifice of strength and health this economy of the insufficient is attained can scarcely be measured. The mother seldom goes even to a free hospital for confinement, though she may have a free physician, and she is nursed by a midwife who is willing to be paid in instalments.

A considerable number of families in any congested district in American cities are liable to fall into extreme poverty two or three times in their lives: during childhood, — if the parents are very poor, — in the prime of life, and in old age. Mr. Rowntree has expressed this fact for the city of York in the following diagram:² —



¹ "Wage-earners' Budgets," p. 265.

² "Poverty." A Study of Town Life, p. 13.

The first drop below the poverty line is apt to occur just before the eldest children become of earning age, and while the mother is bearing other children. If the husband is underpaid or unemployed the family will be underfed, — the mother at the time when she needs good food and freedom from worry, the children at the time when their growth will suffer most. If the wife goes to work outside in order to raise the income, she injures her health under the double strain of wage-earning and child-bearing. The older children will go to work at the earliest possible age, and if not stunted by it, will lose the opportunities for education which might carry them into a higher industrial class. From the time when the children begin to earn till they marry the family will be relatively comfortable; but shortly after they leave home, the father and mother begin to lose their efficiency through the premature old age which falls upon those who are overworked or underfed, and that at a time when the married children, with their own family burdens, are least able to help them.

One of the effects upon growing children of the life amid such vicissitudes is well described by Miss Lauderburn, District Agent of the Associated Charities of Boston, in discussing incompetence as a cause of poverty. She says:—

“The fault is not all due to the incompetents. To a great extent it is due to environment. And it is, perhaps, due also to the very organization of society. A child with a poorly nourished body, with a bringing up lacking in ideals, set in an environment of poverty, dirt, drunkenness, compelled to leave the education of the schools and go to work when he has reached the mature age of fourteen—should a society that permits that be surprised if the boy turns out an incompetent? Surely, it is not surprising if that boy does not know how to work well, how to save, how to spend, but stumbles along through life, seeing only the thing (whether good or bad) nearest his eyes, and not seeing that very clearly—incompetent, physically, mentally, morally, to meet the difficulties of this world, and wage successfully the battle of life.”¹

¹ Twenty-fifth Annual Report Associated Charities, Boston, 1904, pp. 24-25.

The physical and mental deterioration, inevitable in the lower grades of poverty, is indicated not only by the death-rate, especially infant mortality, but also by the marked inferiority of the children in height, weight, and general physical condition. Dr. Kuborn, in discussing the maladies of English miners, says that they originate largely in the kind of life the men lead, their neglect of hygiene in their homes and person, excesses of various kinds, inadequate clothing and feeding, — “causes to which the want of education greatly contributes.”¹ Moreover, the evils of poverty are cumulative: —

“The worse fed are the children of one generation, the less they will earn when they grow up, and the less will be their power of providing adequately for the material wants of their children; and, again, the less fully their own faculties are developed, the less will they realize the importance of developing the faculties of their children and the less will be their power of doing so. . . . The importance of a good start in life is nowhere seen more clearly than in a comparison of the futures of the sons of artisans and of unskilled workers.”²

Nor are the effects of the moral conditions of poverty confined to the poorest class. In all these recent pictures of poverty, frequent reference is made to the generosity and mutual helpfulness of the poor. The weakness and misfortune of the poorest continually drains the resources of their more competent and prosperous neighbors. If the rent cannot be paid, the family will be taken in by their friends or relatives, who have little enough room already; and the rent will remain unpaid to the loss, not of the landlord usually, but of the sub-lessee, who is also poor. The competition of the least competent is the most injurious in the labor market, and their lower standards of decency a menace to the self-respecting poor. Thus the cost of the residuum of poverty is not merely the tax on public and private

¹ Oliver, “Dangerous Trades,” p. 17.

² Marshall, “Principles of Economics,” vol. i., p. 595.

charity, but the tax upon the wage-earners of the higher stratum.¹

At the beginning of the study of the causes of poverty the personal causes, as we have seen, were chiefly emphasized. As relief became systematized and the case-counting method of study was adopted, the causes which stood out most conspicuously in a definite proportion were sickness, unemployment, defects of character, and lack of normal support. And finally in the pictorial studies of poverty we find that the chief causes of dependency are illness and death of the chief wage-earner, irregularity of work due to industrial conditions or drink and incapacity, low wages, and large families on small incomes with few children of wage-earning age. In so far as the immediate causes are concerned the results of the descriptive method are not fundamentally different from those of case-counting, but its value lies in that it goes farther and deeper. The intensive study shows the associated conditions of poverty and raises the larger questions: To what extent has society a right to reap the benefit of methods of production, and of a scale of wages which involve the inevitable degradation of a section of the population? How far should human character be expected to withstand the corrosion of hardships and discouragement? Has not society the charitable burden which it deserves?

Setting aside the fundamental economic and industrial questions with which, however vital, this chapter is not concerned, the study of the causes of poverty has arrived at the immediate problem of the determination of the standard of living for the localities in which relief is to be given. Philanthropic workers are generally agreed that a living income must include not merely the necessities of life for maintaining physical efficiency, but something for sickness,

¹ Bosanquet, "Aspects of the Social Problem," p. 97; Booth, final volume, pp. 206-209.

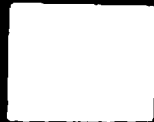
for pleasure, and for emergencies and savings. What this amount will be in a given community will depend not only on the cost of necessities, but upon the intelligence and ideals of the family itself. The standard of living must be established not on the low plane of life to which the family has been driven by stress of circumstances, but on a level of physical and social efficiency for the present and the future. If such an ideal as this be set, it is evident that the charity standard of adequate relief must be considerably raised. Niggardly and superficial relief may save from desperate misery those who have already fallen below the line, but it can never prevent the helpless young from being drawn into the chasm after them. The larger charity goes farther than relief, and finds its consummation in the abolition of the causes of poverty and ultimately, we hope, of poverty itself.

Professor Simon N. Patten has expressed that hope in a prophecy : —

“ Our children’s children may learn with amazement how we thought it a natural social phenomenon that men should die in their prime, leaving wives and children in terror of want ; that accidents should make an army of maimed dependents ; that there should not be enough houses for workers ; and that epidemics should sweep away multitudes as autumn frost sweeps away summer insects. They will wonder that the universal sadness of such a world should have appealed to our transient sympathies, but did not absorb our widest interests. They will ask why there was some hope of succor for those whose miseries passed for a moment before the eyes of the tender-hearted, but none for the dwellers beyond the narrow horizon within which pity moves. And they will be unable to put themselves in our places, because the new social philosophy, which we are this moment framing, will have so moulded their minds that they cannot return to the philosophy that moulds ours.”

PART II.

THE DEPENDENT CLASSES.



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CHAPTER VI.

THE ALMSHOUSE AND ITS INMATES.

THE almshouse is the fundamental institution in American poor-relief. It cares for all the abjectly destitute not otherwise provided for. Outdoor relief, although preceding it in point of time, is the resort of those who still, nominally at least, need only temporary assistance or partial support at home.¹ Since the almshouse is the guarantee against starvation which the State offers to all, no matter how unfortunate or degraded, its inmates are often the most sodden driftwood from the social wreckage of the time. It is ordinarily a depressing experience to visit an almshouse, and accordingly we find it an institution that even the benevolent willingly forget. In many of the country almshouses no clergyman comes the year round; and no friendly visitor appears to encourage the superintendent to be faithful, or to bring to light abuses that may exist. Yet, since the institution is so fundamental, and since the number of its inmates is necessarily considerable, it may be doubted whether a more profitable work can easily be found than the right organization and proper management of almshouses. The benevolent too frequently hurry away to make excellent provision for special classes, leaving to the malad-

¹ For slightly different view see Devine, "Principles of Relief," p. 282.

ministration of the local almshouse a large assortment of destitute people under evil conditions.¹

In New England, except New Hampshire, where there are both county and town institutions, the town (township) is the local political unit to which the care of the poor is intrusted, and the almshouse is accordingly managed by the town officers. In the other States the almshouse is usually a county institution. It is not uncommon for several townships or counties to form themselves into an association, and establish what is called a district almshouse.

The tendency since 1890, especially in States where the town system of control prevails, is more toward the consolidation of small almshouses than toward the building of new ones. Of the 2373 almshouses enumerated at that time, 200 have since been discontinued, while the actual growth of such institutions has been slight.²

In 1880 there were 66,203 inmates of almshouses in the United States, or one almshouse pauper to 758 inhabitants; in 1890 there were 73,045 almshouse inmates, or one to 857 inhabitants; in 1903 there were 81,764 almshouse inmates, or one to 920 inhabitants. The decrease in proportion to population does not necessarily indicate a general diminution of pauperism, but merely that a historical development, already in progress, has been continued.³ When the work

¹ Many attempts have been made to avoid the stigma attaching to the almshouse by changing its name. "Almshouse" itself, although thought to be a better term than "poorhouse" or the English "workhouse," has in its turn degenerated, so that in many States the term "County Infirmary," or "County Home," is substituted. But until the disreputable classes are drafted out of it, to call it a "home" or "retreat" will no more remove the disgrace of inmateship than it will remove the "institution smell" from the suds-soaked floors of the building. The "stigma," whatever it may be, comes primarily from the average character of the inmates, and secondarily from the low-grade character and want of skill of the officers in charge.

² Census, "Paupers in Almshouses," 1904.

³ For fuller historical account of this movement see Devine, "Principles of Relief," Chap. II.

of relief is first begun by the newly formed political units of an American settlement, it is usual to board out such dependents as must be supported entirely. Farmers or others are paid to care for old people, for imbeciles, and even for sick persons who have no homes of their own. Chiefly with a view to providing a place for the better care of the dependent sick, especially incurable cases, and also to economy, a public almshouse is established. During the first stage of its development, it acts as the charitable catch-all for the community. Idiots, epileptics, incurables, incompetents, the aged, abandoned children, foundlings, women for confinement, and a considerable number of the insane, the blind, and the deaf and dumb are all dumped together into some old farmhouse that has been bought by the authorities, and put to this use. The public then goes on its way, and thinks as little about the institution as possible, only grumbling annually at the expenses perhaps, when it happens to review public accounts.

In some populous cities even yet the almshouses are hardly more than enlarged specimens of this same type. The different classes of dependents are still assembled in one great institution, and the public assumes it has discharged its whole duty by giving enough food and fuel to keep the individuals that make up the incongruous mass from hunger and cold.¹

The next stage in institutional development has been described in the following words : —

“ When this humble home was out-grown or worn-out in the older States about the middle of the century and for a generation later, a new almshouse would be built ; and the stage exemplified by the new building may be called that of the ‘ imposing edifice.’ The architecture of this period was from the outside in ; the building was planned for the admiration of the passers-by rather than for the comfort of the inhabitants. It was generally four or five stories high, regardless of the infirmities of its inmates ; perfectly symmetrical, though the male

¹ Ellwood, Bulletin on “ Almshouses in Missouri,” pp. 13-14.

population was generally two or three times the female, and in other respects planned without apparent reference to the uses to which it was to be put."¹

A third stage, as regards architecture, entered upon in the last quarter of the nineteenth century, is the cottage plan, — a plan which seems to combine the advantages without the defects of the older practice. It is, concisely speaking, a group of houses, sometimes connected by passages, permitting the complete separation of the sexes, separate hospital cottages, and a central administration building. To this class belongs the New York City Farm Colony established on Staten Island as a branch of the Home for the Aged and Infirm.²

While this evolution of the almshouse buildings has been taking place, a much more important movement to differentiate the inmates has been developed. The classification of the inmates may be divided into two parts — the drafting out of the almshouse those who do not belong in it, and the differentiation of those that do belong in it. In the first division stand three groups which are gradually being taken over into institutions where they can receive more appropriate care. The first group includes all those requiring special scientific treatment; of these the defective classes of teachable age, the deaf, the dumb, and the blind, were the first to be drafted off to educational institutions, usually supported by the State. Next an effort was made to have the State take care of the insane. This is now usually done so far as the acute insane are concerned, but the great expense of providing for the increasing numbers of the chronic insane led to a suspension of their transfer from the almshouses to specialized asylums. The State of New York, as a result of the Willard report in 1865, determined to remove all insane

¹ Clark, M. V., "The Almshouse," N. C. C., 1900, p. 156. Hibberd, *Charities Review*, vol. x., 1900, p. 515 ff., 571 ff., "The Almshouse System."

² Tower, E., *Charities and the Commons*, vol. xviii., 1907, p. 329.

from almshouses to State institutions, but the great expense of their transfer checked the movement, and it was thirty years before it was able to assume the exclusive care of all insane not in private hospitals.¹ In 1900 Massachusetts provided that all insane should be cared for by the State. The Commissioners of Public Charities of Illinois in 1907 made a thorough report on the conditions surrounding the insane in county almshouses.² Among the fifteen reasons for complete State care, they enumerate the following : —

“ Because, while this General Assembly has been sitting, a girl in an Illinois almshouse has been hobbled with chains, padlocked to her bare ankles, because her stamping disturbed other inmates in the insane department.

“ Because, . . . a rude box, with wooden slats across the top, supplied with iron hinges, hasps, and bolt, is ready, in a certain almshouse, to receive any insane man who becomes unruly, a service it has performed for others.

“ Because, to-day there are almshouses in Illinois where steel handcuffs, barred cells, cages, and padlocks are in service when required to restrain the insane. Imagine an insane girl 20 years old locked in a steel cage ! This happened recently in Stark County.

“ Because, in 54 almshouses there is no provision to separate the insane from plain paupers.

“ Because, any insane resident of Illinois should have just as good care as any other insane resident.”

The State of Illinois is, however, no worse than a number of others in respect to abuses in almshouses. In a thorough and impartial investigation of the almshouses of Missouri, Professor Ellwood found over 1177 insane persons — about one-third of all inmates — in almshouses, and a tendency toward an increased almshouse care of the indigent lunatic.

Of the treatment of the insane he says : —

“ I learned of one almshouse superintendent who declared that he found the horsewhip to be the most efficacious means of quieting in-

¹ Assembly Documents, No. 19, N. Y., 1865. Report of State Committee in Lunacy, 1889. ² Bulletin Illinois Board of Charities, April, 1907.

sane inmates. In another, I found that an insane woman had been kept strapped in bed for over six years. According to the first annual report of the Missouri State Board of Charities, on one county poor-farm an insane man was found who had been kept in a stockade, open to the sky, winter and summer, with hardly a shred of clothing on him, for several years. According to the same report another insane man was found chained to a stump in a poorhouse yard. . . . In general, my investigation disclosed that in a majority of Missouri almshouses there are cells for their confinement ; that in many cases manacles and chains were put on the insane, under which restraint they are kept for years ; and that they are, if not brutally treated, grossly neglected." ¹

Professor Ellwood places the responsibility for this condition of things where it belongs, when he says that the superintendents have to manage as best they can the persons turned over to them by the county authorities, and that the blame ultimately rests with the people of the whole State, who permit by law the commitment of the indigent insane to almshouses.²

Many States have entered upon a policy of State care, and then failed to make appropriations large enough to carry out such a policy. The result has been that, after some State institutions were built, a large number of insane still remain in the almshouses, because the special institutions are overcrowded and can receive no more. This is practically the situation in Illinois. In California the lunacy commissioners frequently refuse to adjudge an almshouse inmate insane, because the State institutions are so overcrowded that they say he is better left in the almshouse.

The movement for State educational institutions for the feeble-minded has only recently made much headway, and the custodial care of feeble-minded adults in special institutions is attained in only a few States. The first public institution for epileptics was opened in Ohio in 1893, and since 1900 the movement to establish colonies has gained consider-

¹ Ellwood, " Almshouse Abuses," N. C. C., 1903, p. 387.

² Ellwood, Bulletin on " Almshouses in Missouri," 1904, pp. 9-11.

able momentum. The present proportions of the classes needing scientific treatment, who are still found in almshouses, is shown in Table XLVIII. (p. 202).

It will be seen that 10 per cent of almshouse inmates are insane and 22 per cent feeble-minded or epileptic, constituting nearly one-third of the whole institution's population, who should obviously be provided for elsewhere.

The second group requiring special care, and therefore to be removed from the almshouse, is the children. It was long ago seen that their mimetic tendencies, and the utter lack of education in the almshouse or of anything to stimulate ambition or provoke energy, guaranteed their ruin. Placing them out by the local poor-law officers gave very unsatisfactory results, as they were spoiled by the time they were old enough to work, and the class of people applying for them at the almshouse seldom wanted them for purposes other than service. There was consequently much agitation and some legislation to get children out of the almshouses, either into special institutions, public or private, or into suitable homes.

Homer Folks wrote in 1902:—

“The delay in the removal of children from almshouses is a lamentable illustration of the slowness with which such reforms proceed. Thirty-five years have passed since Ohio enacted the first law in the United States looking toward the removal of all children from almshouses, but as yet barely a dozen States—about one-fourth of the whole number—have followed her example, and even in these States the laws are not, in all cases, fully enforced. . . . Contrary to the general opinion the States, . . . which are the worst offenders in this regard, include ten of the sixteen which comprised the Union in 1801.”¹

Mr. Folks's statement was based upon the Census returns of 1890. Table XLIX., which includes the figures from the enumeration of 1903, gives a more favorable view.

It appears that the largest proportion of children, rela-

¹ Folks, “The Care of Destitute . . . Children,” pp. 72-82.

TABLE XLVIII.
DEFECTIVE PAUPERS IN ALMSHOUSES FOR MAIN GEOGRAPHIC DIVISIONS, 1903-1904.*

Divisions.	Per Cent										
	Defective.	Inane.	Feeble-minded.	Epileptic.	Blind.	Deaf-mute.	Paralytic.	Crippled, Maimed, or Deformed.	Old and infirm.	Bed-ridden.	Rheumatic.
Among 81,764 Paupers enumerated in Almshouses, Dec. 31, 1903.											
CONTINENTAL UNITED STATES.	79.6	10.3	20.3	1.7	3.6	6.8	4.7	13.6	17.4	9.9	5.3
North Atlantic	74.7	9.2	15.4	1.6	3.0	0.7	5.0	13.2	18.6	0.8	7.0
South Atlantic	80.0	7.0	29.3	2.0	4.6	1.3	4.1	11.4	15.7	0.7	3.9
North Central	84.1	13.9	23.5	1.7	3.4	0.8	4.1	13.7	17.3	0.7	5.0
South Central	81.2	13.0	27.9	2.1	5.7	0.8	3.9	11.5	11.0	1.5	3.3
Western . .	75.7	1.9	11.4	1.2	3.9	0.4	6.8	20.5	19.9	2.2	7.5
Among 81,412 Paupers admitted to Almshouses during 1904.											
CONTINENTAL UNITED STATES.	59.8	4.1	7.8	0.9	1.4	0.5	3.4	11.3	11.3	4.5	6.1
North Atlantic	48.4	3.8	5.1	0.8	1.3	0.2	3.4	11.5	11.6	2.5	3.3
South Atlantic	54.8	4.1	13.5	1.3	1.9	0.4	3.8	7.8	9.8	4.7	7.5
North Central	66.9	4.9	11.2	0.9	1.6	1.1	3.4	15.0	13.4	7.3	3.2
South Central	58.9	3.2	15.0	1.4	2.2	0.6	3.4	8.7	9.2	4.8	5.4
Western . .	44.7	2.0	3.6	0.7	1.0	0.2	3.1	11.1	8.8	5.4	3.3

* Census, Special Report, "Paupers in Alms-houses," 1904, p. 34.

tively though not absolutely, at both dates, was found in almshouses in the South Atlantic and South Central divisions, and the smallest in the Western. In all the divisions, however, there was a marked decrease in both the proportionate and absolute number of children. Many who have been interested in the agitation for the removal of children from these institutions will be disappointed at finding that 2091 children under 16 years of age are still so cared for — or rather so neglected. But it should be noted that nearly one-third are under one year of age.

TABLE XLIX.*
CHILDREN UNDER 10 YEARS OF AGE IN ALMSHOUSES.
1880-1903 Census.

YEAR.	UNITED STATES.	NORTH ATLANTIC DIVISION.	SOUTH ATLANTIC DIVISION.	NORTH CENTRAL DIVISION.	SOUTH CENTRAL DIVISION.	WESTERN DIVISION.
1880	6902	3021	933	2358	517	73
1890	4338	1654	779	1375	492	38
1903	2081	741	473	399	426	42

* Arranged from tables in Census Bulletin 154, p. 4, 1890, and Special Report, "Paupers in Almshouses," 1904. For Census purposes the United States are arranged in the following groups: North Atlantic Division, Maine, New Hampshire, Vermont, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania; South Atlantic Division, Delaware, Maryland, District of Columbia, Virginia, West Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Florida; North Central Division, Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, Wisconsin, Minnesota, Iowa, Missouri, North Dakota, South Dakota, Nebraska, Kansas; South Central Division, Kentucky, Tennessee, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, Texas, Indian Territory, Arkansas, Oklahoma; Western Division, Montana, Wyoming, Colorado, New Mexico, Arizona, Utah, Nevada, Idaho, Washington, Oregon, California.

The large number of infants indicates that many almshouses serve also the purpose of maternity hospitals, and that the children are not retained there after one or two years of age. On the whole, the showing of progress is fairly satisfactory. In those communities where the burden of general pauperism is light, the proportion of almshouse

inmates who are children is large, indicating that this condition is tolerated in communities where relief work has not drawn the interested attention of the community. A comparison of the following table with the one just given will make this point clear: —

TABLE L.
PAUPERS IN ALMSHOUSES, 1880, 1890, AND 1903.
U. S. Census.

GEOGRAPHICAL DIVISIONS.	1880.		1890.		1903.	
	PAUPERS.	PAUPERS PER MILLION OF POPULATION.	PAUPERS.	PAUPERS PER MILLION OF POPULATION.	PAUPERS.	PAUPERS PER MILLION OF POPULATION.
North Atlantic .	33,933	2339	31,143	1789	33,278	1489
South Atlantic .	6,975	918	8,100	914	8,298	754
North Central .	19,811	1141	25,615	1145	27,745	1001
South Central .	3,676	412	5,049	460	6,457	427
Western	1,808	1023	3,138	1036	5,986	1346
United States . .	66,203	1320	73,045	1166	81,764	1014

All the geographic divisions except the Western show declining ratios of paupers to population; the decrease is most marked in the North Atlantic, amounting to 300 per million. The South Atlantic States come next with a decline of 160. Mr. John Koren, Special Expert Agent of the Census, thus summarizes the comparison: ¹ —

“ The fact stands out that the ratio of almshouse paupers to population has decreased, not only in the United States as a whole, but in most of the States. With very few exceptions (Rhode Island and Connecticut) the increased ratios appear in the newer commonwealths, and are attributable for the most part to the ampler institutional pro-

¹ Special Report, “ Paupers in Almshouses,” 1904, p. 8. On page 7 is given a detailed table of the number and ratios of paupers to population by States.

visions for dependents and not to an exceptional increase of pauperism. On the other hand, it would be equally a mistake to read in the decreased ratios observable elsewhere merely evidence of correspondingly decreasing want. . . . The rise or fall in the ratios of almshouse paupers to population can only remotely serve as a general index of prevailing distress or prosperity so long as many other factors entering into the problem of poverty remain unknown."

In general, it may be inferred that the decrease in the proportionate almshouse population comes not so much from a diminution of pauperism, as from the differentiation already described. But undoubtedly, better legislation and administration have contributed to the diminution; and finally the development of charity organization societies and of private agencies for the care of children and of needy families has saved a considerable number of dependents from institutional life. Koren calls attention to the fact that in States with the best-equipped systems of organized charity, the pauper ratios have decreased, notwithstanding that some of them contain the largest urban centres in the country.

A third group, which should manifestly be excluded from the almshouse, is the pauper-delinquent. In most States, tramps and disorderly persons are accommodated here because of the lack of any place of safe-keeping between the almshouse and the jail. In the more advanced States such persons are sent to workhouses or reformatories. The disgrace that attaches to almshouse relief will not be lifted until differentiation has been carried a step farther, and there is some classification of inmates on the basis of character as disclosed in individual and family history. Reformatory institutions to which habitual drunkards, prostitutes, and other misdemeanants can be sent, and in which they must remain until reformation or death supervenes, would relieve the almshouse of many inmates, and the worthy poor of a very considerable portion of the disgrace which attaches to going there.

The effect of the drafting off of the special classes to other institutions is seen in the altered character of the residuum. The general average age of 81,412 paupers admitted in 1904 was 49.4 years—much higher than formerly; the largest proportion admitted in 1904 is found in the age group, 60 to 64 years, and 36 per cent of the total admissions were above 60. Of the paupers in all almshouses in the United States in 1904, 43 per cent were over 60 years of age; while in Missouri, where the inmates of almshouses are still of all classes, the per cent of persons over 60 is only 37.

When carried far enough the policy of differentiation leaves in the almshouses only the infirm and incapable. Table LI. illustrates this tendency.

TABLE LI.
PAUPERS BY WORKING CAPACITY.

CLASS.	PAUPERS AT LEAST 10 YEARS OF AGE IN ALMSHOUSES, 1904.					
	Conti- nental United States.	North Atlan- tic.	South Atlan- tic.	North Central.	South Central.	West- ern.
	PER CENT DISTRIBUTION OF THOSE ENUMERATED, DEC. 31, 1903.					
ALL CLASSES, 81,764.	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Able-bodied	11.7	15.8	7.2	9.8	6.1	10.0
Incapacitated	85.0	81.0	88.6	87.7	89.9	84.3
Unknown	3.3	3.2	4.2	2.5	4.0	5.7
	PER CENT DISTRIBUTION OF THOSE ADMITTED DURING 1904.					
ALL CLASSES, 81,412.	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Able-bodied	23.6	29.4	10.6	16.5	12.0	31.2
Incapacitated	67.4	62.6	76.8	77.1	72.3	57.9
Unknown	9.0	8.0	12.6	6.4	15.7	10.9

As tramps and other wayfarers were excluded throughout from the enumeration, the percentages in the table refer to bona fide inmates.

The table shows, as might be expected, that the great urban districts furnish the largest proportion of able-bodied inmates. The high percentage in the Western division is explained by the fact that the almshouses are used as convalescent wards and sometimes are the resort for acute illness. When all is said, however, there remain far too many able-bodied in these institutions, as shown by the chart on the following page, representing the classes in the almshouses of the city of Boston.

One of the completest pictures of an almshouse population ever presented was published by the New York State Board of Charities in 1877. It gave the basis for an agitation which resulted in the removal of children and insane persons from State almshouses. Of the 12,614 inmates included in this inquiry, 422 were born in almshouses, and 1650 were admitted when less than ten years old; nearly 13 per cent were then under 10, and almost the same proportion were over 70. The average time of dependence for all inmates amounted to 4.88 years, not including the time when they had been public charges in other institutions, or as outdoor paupers—a total of 61,595 years of almshouse care. Of the males, 84 per cent, and of the females, 42 per cent, were believed to have been intemperate; 79 per cent and 21 per cent, respectively, were insane; 65 per cent were unquestionably permanently dependent. Few of the inmates had ever owned property to any considerable extent, some were known to be pauper stock, while the mass confessed to idle and shiftless habits in early life.¹

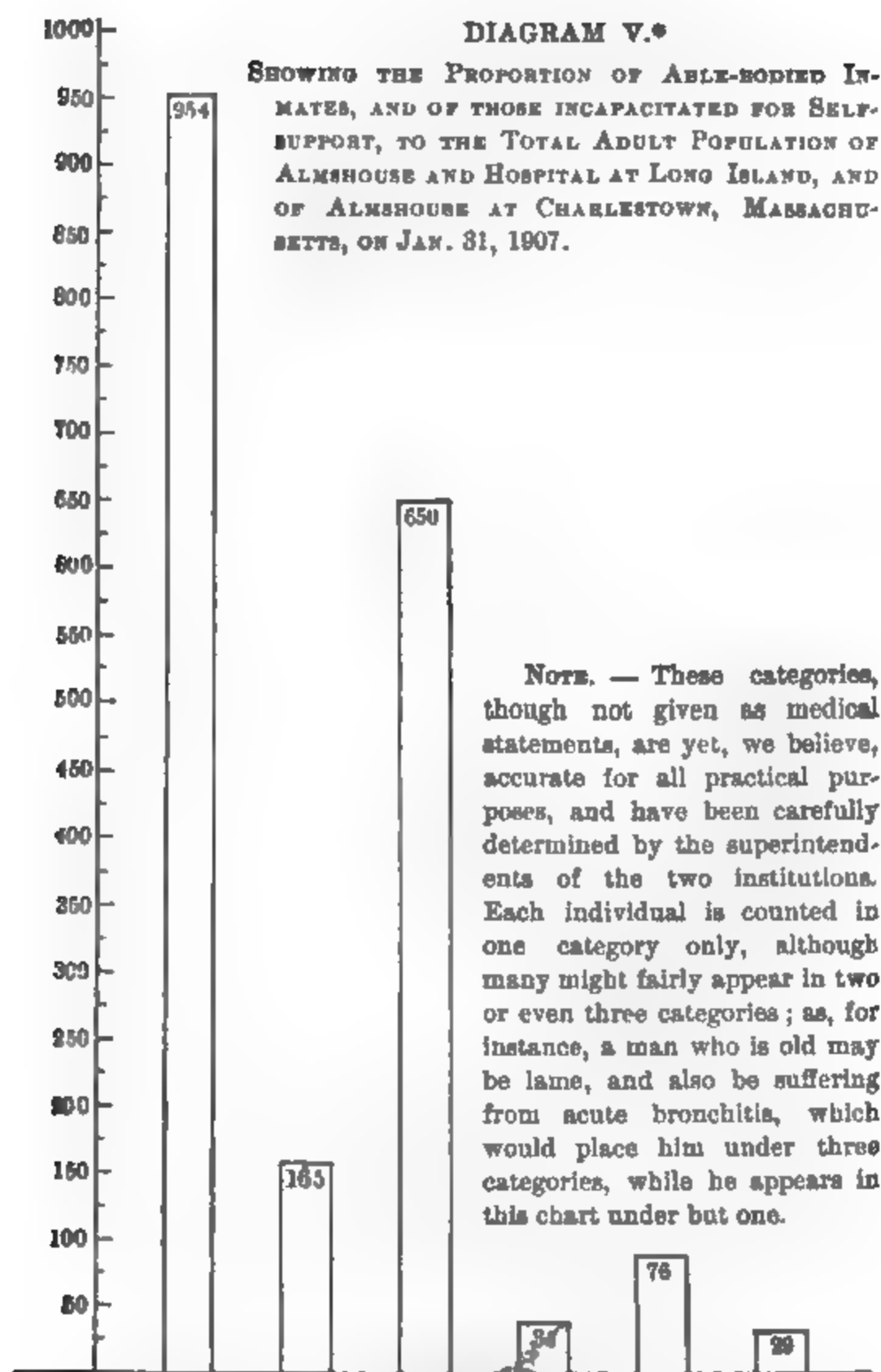
While no State at the present time presents as terrible conditions as this, nearly all of the States still retain abuses similar in kind if not in degree. The committee appointed by

¹ Tenth Annual Report, 1877. See Table IX., p. 56, and pp. 108-9, *ante*.

AMERICAN CHARITIES.

DIAGRAM V.*

SHOWING THE PROPORTION OF ABLE-BODIED INMATES, AND OF THOSE INCAPACITATED FOR SELF-SUPPORT, TO THE TOTAL ADULT POPULATION OF ALMSHOUSE AND HOSPITAL AT LONG ISLAND, AND OF ALMSHOUSE AT CHARLESTOWN, MASSACHUSETTS, ON JAN. 31, 1907.



NOTE. — These categories, though not given as medical statements, are yet, we believe, accurate for all practical purposes, and have been carefully determined by the superintendents of the two institutions. Each individual is counted in one category only, although many might fairly appear in two or even three categories; as, for instance, a man who is old may be lame, and also be suffering from acute bronchitis, which would place him under three categories, while he appears in this chart under but one.

* Tenth Annual Report, "Pauper Institutions Department," Boston.

the town of Hartford, Connecticut, to report upon outdoor relief in that place in 1891, made a careful examination of the almshouse and its inmates. They found that a considerable number of the insane and imbecile were kept there under very unsatisfactory conditions, also some children suffering from paralysis or other incurable disease; that some wards of the building were used as a prison to which police-court cases were sent; and that the most notorious police-court recidivists were most likely to be or to have been in the almshouse.¹

A recent and thorough study of the condition of the county almshouses of Missouri made by Professor Charles A. Ellwood presents a picture of conditions which are typical of those existing in more than half the States.² Table LII. (p. 210) gives the more important facts in condensed form.

It appears that 54 per cent of all inmates are males, 37.7 per cent are over 60, and 4.6 under 18 years of age. Very few of these persons—not more than 15 per cent—are able to do any work; 71 per cent are defective, two-thirds of all almshouses having insane inmates, and more than half of them having cells for the violent insane. Feeble-minded and epileptics constitute 20 per cent of the total, and there were noted instances of feeble-minded women who had become mothers of illegitimate children while in almshouses. Fourteen per cent are blind, crippled, and paralytic; yet only two almshouses in the State have nurses for the sick, and these are not trained nurses.

Turning from statistics of inmates to the provision made for them, it appears that the cost of one-third of all these almshouses was less than \$1500; one only is on the cottage plan, fifteen of the institutional type, and all the rest are old farmhouses in different stages of repair. Only five have modern sanitary arrangements. As to management,

¹ Report of Committee, pp. xiii-xiv.

² Bulletin on the "Condition of County Almshouses in Missouri," 1904.

TABLE LII.
STATISTICS OF MISSOURI ALMSHOUSES, 1903.

	89 COUNTIES HAVING LESS THAN 200 ALMS- HOUSE PAUPERS EACH.	ST. LOUIS CITY.	TOTAL.	PER CENT OF TOTAL NUMBER OF INMATES.
	Number.	Number.	Number.	
Total Inmates	1083	1545	3348	...
Males	1044	795	1819	54.0
Females	759	770	1529	46.0
White	1593	1463	3056	...
Colored	210	82	292	8.7
Age of Inmates :				
Above 60	669	593	1262	37.7
Between 18 and 60	1037	885	1922	57.7
Under 18	87	67	154	4.6
Between 2 and 14	72	20	92	...
Defective Classes :				71.2
Insane	293	884	1177	57.0
Feeble-minded	504	47	551	
Epileptic	96	85	181	
Blind	92	22	114	
Crippled	187	76	263	14.2
Paralytic	67	31	98	
Able to do Some Work . .	...	...	...	15.0
Management :				
By Lease System	Yes, 55	No	...	...
Cells for Insane	Yes, 54	Yes	...	...
Employment of Able-bodied	Op., 74	Op.	...	...
Religious Services	Yes, 35	Yes	...	...

a majority are under the lease system, that is, let out to the lowest bidder, which makes the superintendent dependent upon what he can save from the inmates.

One superintendent wrote candidly: —

“A few years ago the poor were let at \$38.00 per head per year. Under that treatment there were nine out of nineteen that died, and the county had to pay doctor's bill and burial expenses, which cost more than board and clothes. They now pay \$72.00 a head per year. and see that it is cheaper and more humane.”

As to classification, Professor Ellwood reports that in 14 out of 90 almshouses there is none — not even separation of the sexes; in 50 the only segregation is by sex, in 20 by sex and color; 3 only have adequate classification by sex, race, age, and character. In only 16 almshouses is work required of the able-bodied; the rules of admission are lax and indefinite, and of discharge even more so. As the final touch to this dreary picture, it is reported that only 1 has a library, only 4 have weekly religious services, and 55 have none at all, while amusements and recreation are almost wholly lacking.

A study of 228 almshouse women in San Francisco made in 1895 gives a somewhat different view, and adds some information concerning more modern types of paupers.¹ In San Francisco, the jail, the hospital, and the almshouse are each, in turn, the resort of the typical inmate. They come to the latter to recuperate so long as any vitality remains, and finally return there to die, when completely wrecked by dissipation and irregular living. The women are much completer wrecks than the men, because prostitution gives the idle and vicious an alternative career until the last. Of the conditions which brought them to this pass, Mrs. Coolidge says: —

¹ Coolidge, M. R. (Smith), “Almshouse Women,” *American Statistical Association*, 1895, vol. iv.

“One of the commonest results of immigration seems to be that the children acquire a public-school education, become prosperous, and rise in social station ; the old mother or father — foreign, uneducated, often vulgar, and unpresentable — becomes an unwelcome reminder of their common origin, and does not fit into the American life of the children. They are therefore quietly thrown back into the almshouse, where they will be reasonably comfortable and unknown to the children’s friends. The old people are often resigned to their fate because they are led to believe that the almshouse is a State institution, and that it is the business of the State to take care of them. Often it hurts their pride less to be dependent on that abstract thing, ‘the State,’ than upon children and relatives who are ashamed of them. Five have quarrelled with daughters or grandchildren, and are in the almshouse because of spite on one side or the other. This again is a larger factor than appears in numbers. A crotchety, quarrelsome, sensitive old woman, who can do very little work and who thinks much should be done for her, is a serious burden in any poor family, and a source of family trouble anywhere. The majority of women in the almshouse are difficult of temper, and doubtless this was originally a cause of separation from their families in many cases where it does not appear in their stories. Three could be partially supported by their children if they could do even a little housework well or could be left alone at home. In twelve cases there were children who were able, from the mother’s own story, to support her, but no satisfactory reason why they did not do so was given.

“Of the 184 children, 40 are ‘somewhere’ ; that is, they have been separated from the mother in one way or another, and she no longer knows where they are. In the majority of cases this occurs because the mother cannot write, or writes with difficulty, not having the habit, and does not therefore keep her connection with her children. The children, usually of the laboring class, drift from one place to another at work, write less and less often, until finally an illness, a lost letter, a wrong address, some trivial accident, breaks the last link which bound them together. The fact that the parent is usually a foreigner, the immensity of this country, and the mobility of the laboring classes, all tend to produce the same pitiable result,— a condition undoubtedly peculiar to American pauperism.”

It is encouraging to note that in some of the older States, the almshouse is approaching the practicable ideal. The almshouses of Massachusetts are controlled by the local

Overseers of the Poor, and supervised by the State Board of Charity. For this purpose an inspector is employed who makes regular annual visits and detailed reports; frequent visits are also made by the members of the Board. In addition, there are employed in a large proportion of towns having almshouses, women visitors, who give their services without pay, and whose chief office is that of personal sympathy and comfort for the inmates. In 1908 the State Board of Charity reports as follows: —

“ Notwithstanding the continued existence of certain defects and the occasional failure of voters and officials to appreciate the importance of maintaining satisfactory almshouses, during the seven years since the passage of the law specifically providing for almshouse visitation there has been a steadily increasing feeling of confidence in the Board's work on the part of Overseers of the Poor, and a steady improvement in almshouse conditions.

“ Of the 197 almshouses, the large majority have wooden buildings. About three-quarters of them are provided with sitting-rooms and bath-rooms, either fully or partly equipped. One hundred and twenty-one have water-closets. Three-quarters of them are heated by steam, hot air, or hot water, and the remainder by stoves. In nearly all cases where fire-escapes are a matter of importance they are provided. Only 35 almshouses have special hospital accommodations. The whole number of inmates of all the almshouses at the time of visitation was 4324, viz. 2402 men, 1829 women, and 93 children, or persons under twenty-one years of age. The whole number of inmates of all the almshouses during the year was 8442. There were 3868 reported as permanent and 456 as temporary ; and 2782 were stated to have relatives in town. Friends and relatives paid for the board of 99. Weekly bathing was generally required. Work of greater or less value was done by a total of 376 inmates. In all the almshouses there was a total of 860 defective inmates, of whom 275 were reported as idiotic, 57 epileptic, 471 crippled, 12 blind, 13 insane, 12 idiotic and crippled, 5 blind and crippled, 2 epileptic and idiotic, 1 feeble-minded and crippled, 1 feeble-minded, 1 feeble-minded and blind, 7 epileptic and crippled, 1 deaf, blind, and crippled, 1 deaf and dumb, and 1 blind and deaf. There was a total of 139 consumptive cases, who in the large majority of instances received special treatment and diet. Almshouse officials are gradually but surely becoming persuaded of the necessity

of separating consumptives from other almshouse inmates, and of providing the best possible treatment and care for them. The number of vagrants in almshouses has steadily decreased from 34,564 in 1901 to 3127 during the last year. Two years ago 89 almshouses cared for 15,491 vagrants, a year ago 61 almshouses cared for a total of 7900, and during the last year 26 almshouses cared for 3127. This reduction has been accomplished both by new legislation and by a stricter enforcement of the law.'¹

The Massachusetts Board reports that owing to closer supervision and stricter enforcement of the law, the old "rounder" has practically disappeared from the almshouses; and that the removal of the insane under the act of 1902 leaves the almshouse to provide for the old, infirm, and crippled, and for temporary cases of poverty, chiefly women with one or more children. For the most part, the 4324 inmates were "worthy poor people to be suitably cared for." Judging from the report, the two most serious defects of the Massachusetts system are the lack of provision for the feeble-minded and epileptic, and of sufficient hospital equipment.

The most significant fact in connection with this steady improvement in recent years is that it has been accomplished almost entirely by the voluntary service of the philanthropic citizens of the State.

Probably a majority of the grave evils which could be charged at the present time to the American almshouse have their origin in a lack of proper classification of inmates. Classification, which takes selected cases out of the almshouses altogether and puts them in specialized institutions, has already been discussed at length, and existing faults arise chiefly from the fact that many of the States have not kept pace with the march of opinion among specialists.

In the main, it may be said that, wherever the blind, the deaf and dumb, the insane, epileptics, idiots, the feeble-

¹ Twenty-ninth Annual Report, 1907, pp. 6-7.

mind, and children are left in the local almshouse, grave abuses are sure to result, unless there is very efficient supervision; and even then the condition of affairs must be far from satisfactory. While they remain, therefore, they must be given a degree of special care. Idiots should be entirely separated from other inmates, under constant supervision; the feeble-minded should be kept employed, according to their ability, and the women especially must be strictly supervised and separated from men; epileptics should never be left alone, and should be kept employed as much as possible.

In proportion as these classes have been removed, classification within the almshouse will be simplified, but it is always important and demands constant care and readjustment. There are four lines of segregation generally laid down as fundamental: by sex, by color, by health, and by mental and moral character. The neglect to separate the sexes is partly the result of unsuitable construction of buildings, and partly of the low-grade character of the officials in charge. White and colored inmates should be distributed in duplicate cottages or wards.

As we have already seen, two-thirds of all almshouse inmates are incapacitated in one way or another, and 37 per cent of them are over 60 years of age. With the elimination of all special classes, the almshouse becomes primarily what is called in Ohio an infirmary. The Visiting Medical Staff of the Long Island (Massachusetts) Hospital state the situation clearly:—

“In addition to the large number suffering from well-defined disease, there are many others who, through infirmities of age, should be classified as hospital or infirmary patients. . . . The number of the chronic sick is evidently increasing year by year. . . . Are they to be treated simply as city charges, or are they to be given the advantages of the best possible modern medical treatment under conditions which will remove them from the social stigma of pauperism? . . . Ordinary justice requires that the latter course be adopted.”¹

¹ Ninth Annual Report, “Pauper Institutions Department,” 1906, p. 12.

Mrs. Alice N. Lincoln for some years urged that the sick poor, no matter where they may be found, should receive the same care as other sick persons ; that they need the same nursing, the same nourishing food, and the same cleanliness and care — in short, there should be no difference between an almshouse hospital and a general hospital.¹

Although extensive hospital facilities are not practicable, nor required in small almshouses, there are certain provisions essential everywhere. A special ward for general diseases is often necessary, even in small institutions ; cancer patients must be isolated because of the offensive nature of their malady in the later stages ; and tubercular inmates should not only be in separate cottages, but should have their own attendants.

A classification on the basis of habits, character, and a degree of refinement is usually not attempted, although it is of great importance to the inmates. It is a great hardship for the respectable who have seen better days to associate with the intemperate, diseased, and disreputable ; but aside from this obvious demarcation, the almshouse inmate is often sensitive about social distinctions and has as strong preferences as to companionship as other people. Such peculiarities must be considered if the inmates are to be kept comfortable, and the utmost tact, patience, and ingenuity are required to adjust these relations satisfactorily. In the San Francisco almshouse, instead of wards they have a large number of rooms — a form of construction which is undesirable, but which was at one time used to good purpose to give the self-respecting and improvable cases a semi-privacy which they valued.²

¹ N. C. C., 1902, "The Almshouse Hospital."

² This large institution was in charge of Mr. and Mrs. P. L. Weaver from 1889-1897. Especially on the women's side, Mrs. Weaver's methods of classification wrought notable results. Those who were ambitious in a way, and anxious to keep their rooms in good order, were grouped in the

But no amount of ingenuity on the part of the managers can wholly overcome the difficulties arising from unsuitable construction of buildings. Neither the converted farmhouse nor the institutional dormitory, several stories in height, admits of proper classification of the aged, sick, and infirm. It is now agreed that the cottage plan is best adapted for the purpose by its greater flexibility. Not the least of its minor advantages is the fact that it permits the superintendent and attendants to be "segregated" also, in their hours off duty.

This leads to the discussion of the amount of land which should be attached to the institution. The original idea of the "poor-farm" was that the able-bodied should earn a portion of their living, and the manager should also earn a portion of his own salary by cultivation of the land—as ministers often did in former times. In proportion as the able-bodied, the young, and the special classes generally have been excluded, the ability of the inmates to work has been declining. The result of this is that the superintendent is chiefly engrossed in farming to the neglect of the inmates. It is, moreover, a doubtful economy, since supplies can be purchased cheaply in bulk. But the greatest disadvantage is that it necessitates the location of the almshouse in the country, where it is rarely visited, and where

rooms along one corridor, while certain women who had no ambition and no willingness to do anything unless compelled to it, had rooms along another corridor. The inmates themselves called the first "Grand Hall," and the second, "Pauper Alley." Women of one of these localities were disinclined to associate with those of the other. In filling the various rooms, constant effort was necessary to adapt properly the dispositions of the several occupants. Mrs. Weaver at one time had quite a number of inmates with whom no one wished to room because they were such terrific snorers. They were not even congenial associates for each other. She finally hit on the device of putting a snorer in a room with a woman who was hard of hearing. This almost absurd illustration shows what inventiveness and constant personal attention are necessary in order to fit the inmates of an institution properly together.

the provision of amusement and religious services are made difficult. There should be only enough land retained to furnish occupation for the few semi-able-bodied and for pleasant grounds about the cottages.¹

Of the almshouse abuses which result from the mistakes or wrong-doing of individual officials, we shall say but little. Among them may be enumerated dishonest or wasteful management of the funds ; culpable stinginess, resulting in inadequate or unhealthful food, lack of proper buildings, heating apparatus, clothing, and so forth ; insanitary conditions, including dirt and vermin ; and finally, actual cruelty, resulting from either brutality or neglect on the part of the officials in charge. Few understand how easy it is for an official in charge of the utterly helpless to do cruel things without intentional cruelty. In the rural districts especially, abuses are apt to arise because so few persons concern themselves with the institution. The superintendent has dreary work, small pay, and practically no general recognition of his services, whether they be good or bad. A sensitive, high-minded, ambitious man is not likely to apply for or accept such a place. The incumbent is, therefore, almost of necessity a tolerably stolid, unsympathetic person, and one who has not been very successful in other lines. The officials under whom he works send to him a miscellaneous assortment of the diseased, defective, and incapable, but do not give him the proper facilities for providing for these various classes. They cut his appropriations to the lowest possible point, and he fears that any vigorous protest would lose him the place. He therefore concludes that he may as well get along as best he can, since to object would only bring some more docile man into his place. On the other hand, most of the inmates with whom he has to deal are bad-tempered, unreasonable, and inveterately querulous. They would com-

¹ An account of a profitable county poor-farm is given in Bulletin of Illinois Board of Charities, October, 1907.

plain, no matter what might be done for them; and he gradually acts on the unrecognized impression that it does not matter what is done for them—that anything is good enough for them. He becomes brutal unconsciously, and almost in self-defence. After a few years he does, without question, things that would have seemed absolutely awful to him when he first entered on his duties. No influential person reviews and criticises his conduct, and he not unnaturally settles into the conviction that he is managing the almshouse as well as the community cares to have it managed. One can but sympathize with such an official, even when very grave abuses have grown up under his management.

All these tendencies are exaggerated wherever the almshouse is managed under the lease system, making the wages of the superintendent dependent upon what he can make off the farm and save from the inmates. In Missouri the system has been shown to be uneconomical, and as Professor Ellwood says,—nobody claims that it is humane; if it is not cheaper, the only argument in its defence falls to the ground.

The second great evil which springs, not from the character of the officials, but from the nature of our almshouse organization, is laxness regarding admission and discharge of inmates. Since every person is entitled to be saved from starvation and from death by exposure,—which is nearly all that the almshouse does for its beneficiaries,—any one may claim its shelter. But as it is not a penal institution, and as it is to the interest of no one to have persons stay there who can support themselves outside, an inmate wishing to discharge himself is allowed to do so. To the average almshouse official this justification of our laxness is entirely conclusive. Whatever official or board may have the legal right of admitting or discharging inmates, the right of applicants to be admitted or discharged is regarded as inalienable.

The results of this apparently defensible practice are thoroughly bad. Of the abuses to which it gives rise, we may mention as of least importance the support by the county of persons having pensions or property, or relatives able to support them. In some States, even where it is found after death that an almshouse inmate had considerable property, no attempt is made to recoup the county or town for the outlay.¹ A second and more serious abuse is the making of the almshouse a winter resort for tramps, and a place where the drunkard and the prostitute can recuperate between debauches.

The accompanying table, showing the mobility of the almshouse population in San Francisco, is typical of the conditions in many other cities.

TABLE LIII.

NUMBER OF TIMES ADMITTED AND READMITTED AFTER DISCHARGE.*

San Francisco Almshouse, 1889-1894.

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10-18
Total Number	2819	701	808	157	118	64	48	41	28	88
Per cent . . .	64.8	16.1	7.0	3.6	2.6	1.5	1.1	.9	.6	2.0

* Coolidge, "Almshouse Women," p. 235.

The Federal Census of almshouse inmates in the United States shows that in the course of the twelve months after Dec. 31, 1903, the admissions almost equalled the total almshouse population on that date, and the discharges were only a few thousand less. Excluding deaths and transfers to other institutions, there were 54,199 permanent or temporary discharges, of whom only one-fourth were dis-

¹ A number of San Francisco miners have been supported at the almshouse, and twelve women were found there whose children should have supported them.

charged to the keeping of relatives or friends.¹ The Hartford Committee reported a man whose clothing, supplied at public expense while he came and went at pleasure for two years, amounted in value to \$85.28, while the man was receiving at the same time a federal pension of \$8 per month.

The final and worst result of permitting the destitute to admit and discharge themselves at will is that it enables the dissolute and degenerate to have offspring "after their kind." The results are most manifest in the cases of feeble-minded women. Mr. Charles Booth gives an instance of an English woman who in a little more than eight years presented the rural workhouse at Ashby-de-la-Zouch with five illegitimate children. In the workhouse this woman was capable and industrious, and a good nurse.² After giving numerous examples in her paper entitled "One Means of Preventing Pauperism," Mrs. Lowell says:—

"I speak chiefly of women, because they form the visible links in the direful chain of hereditary pauperism and disease; but it must not be forgotten that the treatment here prescribed for them (indeterminate sentence to reformatory institutions) should also be applied to the reformation of the men, whose evil propensities are likewise handed down from one generation to another."³

A special committee of investigation in Boston reported the cases of two women who had been admitted to the Home for Paupers eight and four times respectively in six years, and commented as follows:—

"These two young women, one of whom is now at liberty on the city streets, have cost the city for the board of their five illegitimate children, still at Marcella Street Home, the sum of \$1,855.53. Two of these children are defective and will long be a care to the city. Women like these have no will-power of their own; they need restraint for their own good. They are too weak to withstand temptation, and should not thus needlessly be allowed to walk into it."⁴

¹ Special Report, "Paupers in Almshouses," p. 11.

² "Pauperism," etc., pp. 117-118.

³ N. C. C., 1879, p. 195.

⁴ Report Special Committee to inspect Public Institutions, 1892, pp. 28-29, 40.

There is probably no almshouse in the country which has not one or more such records to show.

The remedy for the abuse of the privileges of admission and discharge is investigation of the history of all applicants for admission, a legal commitment and discharge by a board or committee, of which the superintendent and matron shall be *ex-officio* members. In proportion as the irresponsible and the delinquent are drafted off to special institutions, the decent remainder may be granted greater liberty, such as is safely permitted in German almshouses.¹

A third very prevalent evil in the management of American almshouses is lack of a work test, and a failure to enforce proper discipline among the inmates. While in some places an energetic and specially capable official may overcome all obstacles and enforce discipline and compel work, yet such an undertaking is usually discouraged, or at least not encouraged, by the authorities, and the sentiment of the community and the nature of legislation are usually such as to make this course difficult. Under the average superintendent, as a rule, it costs more to set the inmates of an almshouse to work than their work is worth. That is, a given number of inmates can be supported more cheaply in idleness than when they are put to work. It is for this reason that the labor in the English "workhouse" has degenerated so persistently into mere task-work.

The principal advantage in obliging all inmates capable of doing anything to work consists in the deterrent influence of this policy upon would-be applicants. Its influence is especially valuable in preventing tramps from using the institution as a winter club-house. In most almshouses the main part of the work that can be offered to men is on a farm or in the garden. This kind of work is unavailable in the winter, just at the time when a rigid work test is most essential. In many institutions no inmate is required to

¹ Lincoln, N. C. C., 1898.

work unless he is willing to do so. Some superintendents seem to think it the height of brutality to ask an inmate to do anything against his will; and such service as can be utilized is usually obtained by offering extra rations of food and tobacco. The amount of patience, ingenuity, and energy necessary to make such work profitable, and to fit such laborers—who for the most part have failed to fit anywhere else in the industrial world—into some task suited to their limited capacity, requires a degree of ability and moral fibre rarely to be found in an almshouse official. Under the management of Mrs. Ellen Armstrong Weaver, the women of San Francisco almshouse reached a high degree of industrial efficiency, considering their capacities. A prostitute nursed a bedridden girl to whom she had become attached; a deaf and difficult old woman washed, dressed, and fed, as if she were a baby, a deaf, dumb, and blind girl; a woman nearly blind and knotted with rheumatism braided rag rugs; a feeble-minded Swedish woman made fine lace; a well-educated woman did fine sewing and read the daily paper aloud to the women in the sewing room. All the sewing and mending for the 900 inmates, and all the cleaning of the women's wards, was done by the women.

From the side of the inmates, work for all is desirable because they are happier for having it. About the only happy persons one finds in an almshouse are those who are occupied. Idleness conduces to restlessness, sensuality, bad temper, and various forms of nervous disorder. In almshouses, as well as in prisons, insane asylums, and other kinds of institutions, discipline is doubly hard when the inmates are idle. That idleness in and of itself brings misery, can be seen by any one who passes through one of our Soldiers' Homes, especially the magnificent one for soldiers of the regular army at Washington. So well is this fact now ascertained that special societies are formed in the large cities for giving employment to the inmates of the great

public institutions. Efforts in this direction were begun in 1893 at the City Hospital on Blackwell's Island, New York, by the County Visiting Committee of the State Charities Association, and during the last three years the work has been greatly enlarged. Teachers have been sent to municipal hospitals and homes for the aged and infirm to instruct the inmates in a variety of handicrafts. The effect of employment in Ward L, a ward at the home for the aged and infirm on Blackwell's Island, is thus described:¹—

“Ward L is the ward devoted to the crippled, paralyzed, rheumatic, epileptic cripples. . . . I found sixty men sitting there doing nothing, the very picture of desolation. . . . To speak a cheery word in such an atmosphere seemed mockery. . . . There has come about, in process of time, what I call the transformation or the transfiguration of Ward L, and all this has taken place through the introduction of the bead work. . . . With some persuasion, they induced one or two to enter into the work. The interest spread until 20 out of the 60 were engaged in it. . . . They were impatient when the supply of beads gave out. The clamor was for more beads and more looms. The whole character of the ward was changed. A joke was in order, cheeriness and good will were the rule.”

Many other handicrafts have been introduced: one man illuminates texts; another man has earned a phonograph for the ward by his knitting; others make raffia and osier baskets, Smyrna rugs, and carved wooden articles. The disciplinary and curative results of the work are highly encouraging, and the avenues for the development of the work are many. There ought to be similar societies, or at least similar work done, in our rural communities; if it accomplished nothing else, it would at least interest some of the influential classes in the neglected institutions of the locality.

It is evident that many of the abuses which we have been discussing will still occur even when capable and conscien-

¹ *Charities*, March 4, 1905; *Charities and the Commons*, 1906, May 12, November 17.

tious officials are in charge, primarily because of neglect by the general public. Professor Ellwood suggests three lines of effort toward correction: the visitation of almshouses by local boards of visitors, inspection of state officials, *i.e.* Board of Charities, and mandatory and prohibitive legislation. The three methods will naturally be evolved and become effective in the order indicated. Following the example of English administration, there is some tendency in America to State control of almshouse administration.

If there could be in American almshouses thorough investigation of all applicants for admission and all applications for dismissal; if within the institution there could be a thorough discipline and an intelligent and kindly application of the work test to all capable of doing anything at all, there would be no danger that almshouses would be overcrowded; if in addition there could be a higher class of officials in charge, if the standard of medical care and nursing could be raised to that of the general hospital, and if some means of relieving the dreary monotony of the life were afforded, the almshouse would afford cleanly and honorable relief to the real children of misfortune.

CHAPTER VII.

PUBLIC RELIEF OF THE POOR IN THEIR HOMES.

OUTDOOR relief does not have the same meaning in different places and according to different laws. In England, it usually means all relief that is given outside of the workhouse. The indigent insane, consequently, who are relieved in special institutions, are classed among those receiving outdoor relief. The same policy is followed in the parts of the United States where English precedents have obtained. For instance, in Massachusetts what is called "State outdoor relief" is given to the poor who have no local settlement, such as the sick and diseased who are placed in hospitals; and the administrative expenses of the department are reckoned in with the amount spent for outdoor relief; consequently, only a small modicum of the expenditure really goes in temporary aid to the poor in their own homes. Those who dispute about the advisability of outdoor relief create confusion by sometimes including and sometimes excluding such relief when given from private funds. Unless otherwise specified, the term "outdoor relief," as used in this volume, will mean the relief given from public funds to the poor in their homes, not including medical relief.

Outdoor relief in the United States is given by county and township officials; and from its nature the bookkeeping is likely to be faulty, especially as to the number of persons aided. In most Western States, as, for instance, in California, there is no State official to whom the county and township authorities are called upon to report. They

publish no annual accounts, except such as may be found in the local papers annually or semi-annually; and those who have undertaken to study the problem of outdoor relief in these States have had to get their facts by personal visits or correspondence with the local officials.¹

In twenty-four States, relief of the poor in their homes is legally authorized, and several others may authorize it at discretion; only a few Southern States give outdoor relief. As pointed out in the previous chapter, its fundamental principle is that the aid shall be temporary or only partial. The evils connected with this form of relief have long been a matter of controversy, and in this country the agitation against it has gained headway in almost direct proportion to the density of population. The flagrant abuses of the system in the large Eastern cities led to a concerted movement for doing away with it from 1878 onward.

In order to make clear the chief points involved, the arguments for and against the method will be set down categorically. The following are the principal reasons given by those who believe in retaining it as a fundamental part of the relieving system:—

1. It is the *natural* and therefore the kindly way to help, because it grows out of the neighborly relations of rural communities. The poor person is not separated from relatives and friends, families are not broken up, and the receipt of relief is not as conspicuous and consequently as disgraceful as it is where resort must be had to an institution.

2. It is economical. Many families can almost support themselves, and it seems folly to dismember them and place the children in refuges or board them in private families, and compel the adults to resort to the poorhouse, when a little relief given in the home would keep the

¹ In 1880 the Federal Census published some fragmentary statistics on this subject, but none were collected in 1890 or in 1900; there are, consequently, no figures for the country as a whole.

family together and enable them to make part of their support by ordinary methods. Mr. F. B. Sanborn, in 1890, cited the example of Massachusetts, where the average annual cost of each outdoor pauper, or recipient of family aid, was less than \$40 a year, while the cost for each indoor pauper was \$139; and if the interest on the institutional plant and equipment were added, would be at least \$180 yearly.

3. There are not institutions enough. The demand for relief always keeps considerably in advance of the supply; and it would be uneconomical, and in fact impossible, to have buildings enough to accommodate all who should be relieved from time to time. Especially in the winter months, a large number of persons need relieving for a short time; and if the almshouses were large enough to accommodate them during the winter, there would be great buildings vacant during the summer.

4. Individual private charity — the other alternative of public outdoor relief — is unreliable and, in times of special distress, insufficient. Some of the worthy poor are likely to be neglected, while relief to others will be duplicated, and these latter are sure to be pauperized.

This gives certainly a good *prima facie* case for the retention of a certain amount of outdoor relief. On the other side, the following considerations are urged:—

1. The kindness is apparent rather than real, for, except in the smallest communities, the administration is in the hands of officials who have no personal knowledge of the applicant and who can neither investigate nor discriminate. It has long been a principle that any work was suitable for a government to do in proportion as it could be reduced to a routine and done in a semi-mechanical way. As the work of giving outdoor relief should not be done in this semi-mechanical way, it is unsuitable for public officials to undertake.

2. It tends to increase the number of applicants, because it is less manifestly disgraceful than the indoor system, and is much more pleasant to receive. The saving in cost for a single person supported is more than made up by the additional number of persons that will claim to require relief. It is a sufficiently pleasant form of being relieved, so that if no requirement except indigency is made, a large number of persons will become duly indigent in order to qualify for the receipt of alms.

3. Corruption of politics invariably results from the system, and the whole tone of the population is likely to be lowered. In many cases, it is unworthy motives favoring the retention of the system that makes it difficult to secure its abolition.

4. Where outdoor relief has been given lavishly, as in England at some times and places, it has simply resulted in reducing the rate of wages, the amount given in relief being reckoned on as a possible resource, so that the employee would accept lower wages than would otherwise have been possible.

5. It is not educational either to the recipient or the official donor. In the one it tends to destroy thrift and self-restraint; in the other it encourages a spirit of complacent generosity without any corresponding personal sacrifice and exercise of judgment. Any charitable method which does not develop both sympathy and discrimination is about equally injurious to the administrator and the recipient.

A comparison of the two general lines of argument for and against public outdoor relief makes it apparent that those who favor the system of outdoor relief usually argue upon theory, or draw their facts from rural communities, where the problems are comparatively simple, and where abuses are readily checked. They generally lay the emphasis upon institutional care as the alternative method, while

as a matter of practice in communities where public relief in homes does not exist, the alternative is outdoor relief by organized charity.

The opponents of the system, on the other hand, point to the facts, especially the experience in dispensing outdoor relief in large cities. The most instructive experiments that have been made in this matter in the United States have consisted chiefly in cutting off peremptorily the supply of outdoor relief. The historic illustration of this sort is the city of Brooklyn, first reported to the National Conference of Charities in 1879 by Seth Low. The statistics of outdoor relief in Brooklyn from 1870 to 1884 are given in Table LIV.

TABLE LIV.

BROOKLYN POOR RELIEF, 1870-1884.*

	POPULATION.	OUTDOOR RELIEF. PERSONS AIDED.	INDOOR RELIEF. PERSONS AIDED.	COST OF OUTDOOR RELIEF.	ASSOCIATION FOR IMPROVING THE CONDITION OF THE POOR. AMOUNT DISTRIBUTED.
1870	396,000	38,170	8,542	\$168,437	\$21,851
1871	414,000	35,658	9,234	141,208	22,011
1872	432,000	22,868	8,999	95,771	21,821
1873	450,000	25,033	7,487	100,555	22,211
1874	468,000	30,411	7,343	134,935	23,466
1875	485,000	35,850	7,923	116,967	24,366
1876	501,000	44,208	9,155	98,815	23,000
1877	518,000	46,330	9,268	141,137	20,818
1878	534,000	46,093	9,706	57,054	18,824
1879	551,000	stopped	10,231	stopped	16,640
1880	567,000	. . .	8,736	. . .	14,774
1881	584,000	. . .	10,847	. . .	17,716
1882	601,000	. . .	11,121	. . .	18,050
1883	619,000	. . .	11,678	. . .	22,246
1884	639,000	. . .	11,190	. . .	19,061

* From Devine, "Public Outdoor Relief," *Charities Review*, vol. viii., p. 188.

From these figures it is seen that between 1872 and 1877, inclusive, the number of beneficiaries increased 100 per cent. In 1877 one person in every sixteen of the population was receiving outdoor relief. The description of the abuse is given in Mr. Low's own words : —

“ The system had become furthermore a sore on the body politic. The friends of politicians received help whether needy or not, and so the system was perpetuated. Families with voters were the first served. The ‘ outdoor relief ’ appropriations became a vast political corruption fund. Large numbers of the population were taught to rely on the county help, and sought it for no other reason than that the county gave it. One woman received help under nine different names. Many sold what they received. Men came from the country every autumn to live at the expense of the city during the winter, because the city was offering a premium to the idle to come there and live in idleness. The poor did not get the chief benefit of increased appropriations. Most of it went to underlings connected with the work of distribution. In every way, and in every direction, the effect was hopelessly bad.

“ In 1875 the Commissioners of Charity employed paid visitors to investigate the cases of applicants for relief ; and it cost sixty cents to distribute every dollar's worth of food or fuel. This was so monstrous that public clamor compelled a change. In 1876 the visiting system was abandoned, and all applicants were compelled to take oath that they were paupers. As may be imagined, the result was horrible. Moreover, many who lived in New York availed themselves of such easy opportunity to be fed by Brooklyn.”¹

At the urgency of an association formed under the auspices of the State Charities Aid Association, between 200 and 300 volunteer visitors were set at the work of investigation in 1876–1877. As a result, the visitors were convinced that many families habitually applied for relief merely because their neighbors were receiving it, and they recommended the abolition of outdoor relief, by stages, if necessary. The Commissioners of Charities did not accept the recommendation, but in 1878, the whole system

¹ N. C. C., 1879, pp. 202 ff.

having been discovered to be illegal, it was suddenly discontinued.

To the surprise of all, no increased demand fell upon the private relief agencies during the winter following, no suffering appeared, and the numbers in almshouses did not increase. In fact, the figures in Table LIV. show a steady decrease of relief per capita in the years following. This was due, no doubt, partly to the return of business prosperity after the panic of 1873; but it is believed that it also represents to some extent a recovery from the pauperism induced by lavish and indiscriminate public relief.

The experience of the State of Indiana, which has recently applied to the administration of outdoor relief the principles of organized charity, is even more instructive than that of Brooklyn. Under the law of 1853 in Indiana, poor relief was given by the trustees of more than 1000 townships; the amount was left to their judgment, and they might in their own discretion send the applicants for relief to the county poor asylum or grant them relief in their homes or transportation to the next township. The Boards of County Commissioners were also permitted to give annual allowances and medical aid. Under this system, very serious abuses grew up. The township trustee, elected by popular vote, was inexperienced, poorly paid, and subject to political pressure and the demands of friends; the County Commissioners often gave when the trustee refused. Under this system, the average amount paid in outdoor relief between 1890 and 1895 was \$550,000 annually. The first step toward reform was a law secured by the State Board of Charities in 1894, requiring accurate statistics of the relief given to be reported to a State officer. The information obtained was startling: one in every 31 of the State's inhabitants was receiving relief, the proportion in different counties varying from 1 in 13 to 1 in 208; in some of the richest counties the number aided was 1 in 16 to 1

in 20. As a result of agitation on the basis of this information, a law was passed in 1899, which is said to be the first application of charity organization principles to an entire State. The law provided for the investigation of each case by the overseer of the poor; for securing the help of the friends and relatives of the applicant; for compelling the able-bodied members of the family to work; for refusing transportation to all except the sick, aged, injured, or crippled, and then only in the direction of his legal residence; for coöperation with private relief societies; for limiting the relief power of the County Commissioners, and the amount of temporary aid.¹ The law has been strengthened and improved in recent years, and the results are shown in the following comparative summary for 1895 and 1905:—

	1895	1905
Cost of relief to each state inhabitant	\$.29	\$.10
Highest per capita cost . . . . .	.68	.29
Lowest per capita cost . . . . .	.06	.03
Counties in which per capita cost was below 10 cents .	2	49
Counties in which per capita cost was above 30 cents .	35	0

The relation of the total cost to taxation is shown in Table LV.

TABLE LV.
OUTDOOR RELIEF IN INDIANA.

YEAR.	TOTAL COST OUTDOOR RELIEF.	TOTAL NUMBER TOWNSHIPS.	TOWNSHIPS No TAX LEVY.	LEVY UNDER 5 CENTS.	LEVY 5 CENTS AND OVER.
1898	\$375,206	1014	64	515	435
1899	320,667	1014	50	607	357
1900	209,956	1016	146	644	226
1901	236,723	1014	154	620	240
1902	266,876	1015	181	611	223
1903	245,745	1015	233	617	165
1904	281,105	1017	224	649	144
1905	249,884	1016	289	581	146

¹ For full text of law, see Indiana Bulletin of Charities, etc., March, 1905.

The sudden decrease of outdoor aid from \$375,206 in 1898 to \$209,956 in 1900, shown in this table, would naturally have been reflected in an increased population in the county poor asylums. Indeed, when the law of 1899 was passed, there was considerable anxiety felt as to the adequacy of the poor asylums to receive the number that would be thrown into them. Yet, in spite of a decrease of 34 per cent in outdoor relief between 1899 and 1900, the number in asylums also decreased from 3133 to 3096, and from year to year since, as the administration of outdoor relief has become more business-like, the number in county asylums has not increased, although there has been a considerable increase of general population. The State Board of Charities reports an improvement in the condition of the poor themselves, although the administration of the law is not yet wholly free from abuses.¹

An example of outdoor relief, well administered, but still held to be injudicious and harmful, is found in the town of Brookline, a suburb of Boston. The administration of relief was in the hands of certain women trustees, who gave outdoor relief with a work test during a series of years. Previous to 1883 full or partial support was given to 150 persons. These were warned three months in advance that no pauper rent would be paid after May 1, but that the almshouse would be open to any one needing shelter. On the 1st of May, 22 adults and 7 families, numbering 33 persons, became self-supporting; 10 adults and 9 families, consisting of 39 persons, assumed the payment of their own rent, asking only partial support from the town, and in no case was the offer of the almshouse accepted. The total expenditure for poor relief for the town fell from \$8487.50 in 1882 to \$7794.49 in 1883, and in 1893 was \$7218.28.² Mrs. Codman says :—

¹ For full account, see *Indiana Bulletin of Charities, etc.*, March, 1906, which contains statistics, maps, and bibliography.

² Pamphlet by Joyce, pp. 3-5.

“I have no hesitation in saying that the whole tone of the population has been raised, and that to ‘come upon the town,’ at one time regarded as the natural and proper thing to be done, is now looked upon as a disgrace. . . . Self-respect and independence have been encouraged, and the race of paupers within our limits has very nearly disappeared.”¹

There is no well-authenticated instance where outdoor relief has been stopped and any considerable increase either of private charity has been required, or any marked increase of the inmates of institutions has occurred. The only suggestion that has ever been made as to evil results from the experiment in Brooklyn is that the number of dependent children increased after outdoor relief had ceased to be given. But the number of dependent children also increased in other parts of New York, where no change in outdoor relief administration had occurred, indicating that it was a change in the laws affecting dependency among children that produced the increase. As administered in the United States, it is found, apparently, that public outdoor relief educates more people for the almshouse than it keeps out of it, and that therefore it is neither economical nor kindly.

It is equally evident that institutional care alone will never be sufficient, even if desirable, to provide for all the poor. The question raised is not between public outdoor and institutional relief, but between public and private outdoor relief. It must be confessed that the abuses resulting from private charity have often been quite as serious as from public relief. Moreover, the evils of public relief, as illustrated in the cases already described, merely show that uninvestigated public aid is harmful, but do not prove that, if carefully administered, it might not be preferable to individual charity.

¹ Mrs. Codman, N. C. C., 1891, p. 49. It should be said that Brookline is a thriving and fashionable residence suburb of Boston, and the character of the population added from year to year has not been such as to lead one to expect a proportionate increase of pauperism.

There is a consensus of opinion that relief in homes is, for those on the verge of dependence, the ideal method; and an almost equal agreement that it is difficult to administer, and must be limited in amount. Whether it can best be supplied by the State or by private charity, can only be answered by experience. Frederick Almy, of the Buffalo Charity Organization Society, presented at the National Conference in 1900 a table of the forty largest cities in the United States, first, in the order of least public relief, and second, in the order of least private relief.¹ The results are represented in the diagram on the opposite page.

Mr. Almy's conclusions, as shown by the figures and the diagram, are that a city which gives no public outdoor relief must give a considerable amount of private outdoor relief; and *vice versa*, when there is no private relief, public relief increases. It seems clear that public relief checks private charity, for of the ten cities that give liberal public outdoor relief, there is not one that gives liberal private relief, and of the ten that give liberal private outdoor relief, there is not one that gives liberal public relief.

The dotted curved line of the diagram shows that private relief averages little more than one-third the cost of public relief. The average per capita cost of the cities which depend wholly upon private relief is 6½ cents, and of those which depend wholly upon public relief, 17½ cents.²

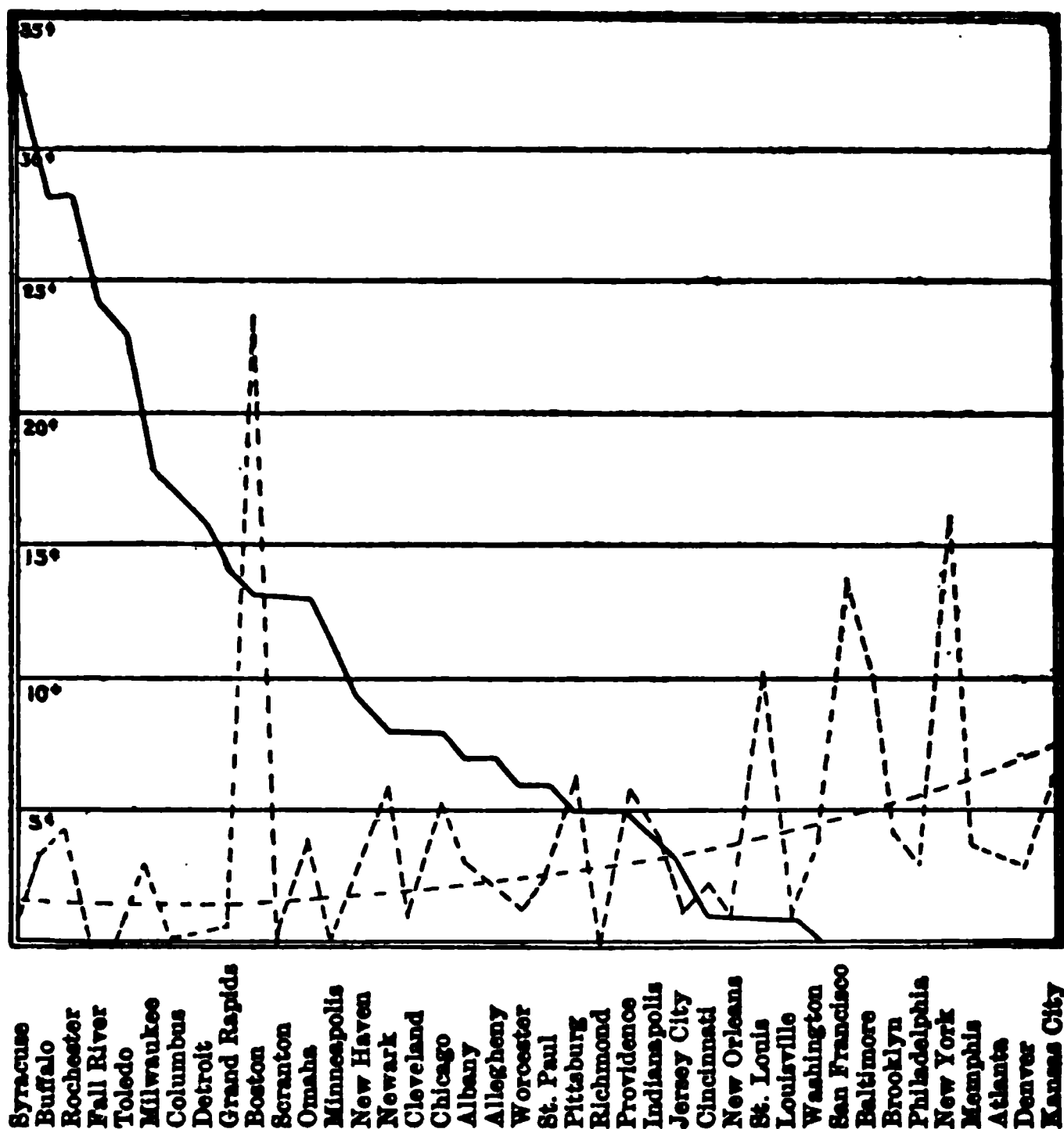
Although it has been shown that liberal public relief tends to check private charity, it does not appear that abundant private relief reacts in any degree to diminish public outdoor relief. In the city of Boston, where the per

¹ About one-half of the cities having over 200,000 population give no public relief: viz., New York, Philadelphia, Brooklyn, St. Louis, Baltimore, San Francisco, New Orleans, Washington, Kansas City, and Louisville.

² For details and discussion from which these conclusions are extracted, see two valuable articles by Almy in *Charities Review*, vol. ix., 1899, Nos. 1 and 2; and articles in N. C. C., 1900, pp. 134 ff.

DIAGRAM VI.

RELATION OF PRIVATE TO PUBLIC OUTDOOR RELIEF.*



The heavy line, starting at the top on the left, represents public outdoor relief, which stands at thirty-four cents per capita at Syracuse and falls to nothing at San Francisco and the eight following cities. The related movement of private outdoor relief is shown by the dotted line starting at the bottom on the left. Thus, where public relief of thirty-four cents per capita is given (Syracuse), the private relief stands at zero; where public relief is thirteen cents (Boston, Scranton, Omaha), the corresponding amounts of private relief given vary, standing approximately at twenty-four cents in Boston, zero in Scranton, and four cents in Omaha. The name of each city is printed

* Almy, *Charities Review*, vol. ix., p. 81, 1899.

capita expenditure for private charity is probably higher than anywhere in the country, and where public relief is administered with intelligence and thoroughness, it does not decline perceptibly in amount. In Table LVI. the total amounts expended for public outdoor relief are shown for a period of years.

TABLE LVI.
OUTDOOR RELIEF, BOSTON, 1877-1907.*

YEAR ENDING	AMOUNT.	NUMBER OF FAMILIES.	AMOUNT PER FAMILY.	POPULATION.
Apr. 30, 1877	\$80,341.89	6,627	\$12.12	341,919 (1875)
" " 1880	56,777.36	4,277	13.28	362,839
" " 1885	64,292.96	4,132	15.55	390,393
" " 1890	56,414.96	2,509	22.48	448,477
Jan. 31, 1895	75,900.47	4,006	18.95	498,920
" " 1900	64,502.42	2,836	22.53	560,892
" " 1901	63,298.30	2,707	23.38	...
" " 1902	64,391.41	2,637	24.42	...
" " 1903	63,499.14	2,420	26.24	...
" " 1904	70,041.91	2,346	29.86	...
" " 1905	67,668.86	2,248	30.10	620,000
" " 1906	68,148.89	2,202	30.84	...
" " 1907	66,079.13	2,060	32.07	...

* Reports of Board of Overseers of the Poor.

Between 1880 and 1907 the number of families declined from 4277 to 2060, while the per capita relief rose from \$13.28 to \$32.07. This would indicate a policy of making

directly under the points in the lines showing the amounts at which the public and private relief, respectively, stand in that city. Dividing the cities into four groups of ten each (excepting Boston, which will be explained later) and averaging the private relief of each group, four points are obtained. Connecting these by a curved line, the result (slightly idealized) is the dotted line shown on the diagram. This may be taken to represent the average movement of private relief in relation to the decrease of public relief.

relief more adequate, but does not suggest that public outdoor relief is economical. In spite of the fact that the Overseers of the Poor are an excellent body of officers, the opinion of the leading charity workers in Boston is almost unanimous against outdoor relief. They hold that private charities could do the work as well, that public relief is too easily assumed to be a right, and that in the matter of relief the Overseers do not supply either ideals or inspiration.

The effect of careful investigation upon the amount of relief given is illustrated by the history of outdoor aid in Buffalo. In 1876 Buffalo, then a city of 140,000 inhabitants, was aiding 14,375 persons at a cost of \$112,054, or .799 cents per capita of the population. This extravagant outlay was one of the chief causes of the establishment of a Charity Organization Society, which has now for thirty years, continuously, investigated the applications for city relief. Table LVII. (p. 240) shows in detail the expenditures and the remarkable decline in the amount of public outdoor relief.

This table shows that more than 10 per cent of the population of Buffalo were receiving outdoor city aid in 1876, and less than 1 per cent in 1907; 3778 families were aided in 1876; only 775 in 1907. The first great falling off from \$112,000 in 1876 to \$29,000 in 1880 was due to the substitution of investigated for uninvestigated city aid; the second drop from \$118,000 in 1898 to \$38,000 in 1902 was due to a vigorous attempt to develop constructive work as a substitute for charity among those who were conceded to be poor. Mr. Almy, of the Buffalo Charity Organization Society, in commenting on these figures, says, that the chief difference between charity organization outdoor relief and city outdoor relief is that the former always carried with it a plan and follow-up work, while city aid has neither. He adds: "I have never heard of any one from the city poor office interviewing a landlord, or the holder of a mortgage, looking for employment, overhauling the plumbing which

TABLE LVII.

OUTDOOR RELIEF IN BUFFALO, 1875-1907. C. O. S. RECORDS.

YEAR.	POPULATION OF BUFFALO	NUMBER OF FAMILIES RECEIVING CITY AID.	TOTAL EXPENDITURE FOR OUTDOOR RELIEF *	EXPENDITURE PER CAPITA OF POPULATION.
1875	136,426	...	\$78,277	.5871
1876	140,168	3,778	112,054	.7995
1877	143,911	2,030	100,637	.6993
1878	147,653	1,967	61,489	.4164
1879	151,396	1,589	41,784	.2759
1880	155,137	1,139	29,296	.1888
1881	165,872	1,069	42,849	.2583
1882	176,607	1,058	32,360	.1832
1883	187,342	1,048	36,496	.1948
1884	198,077	1,395	40,557	.2047
1885	208,812	1,857	52,700	.2523
1886	219,547	1,247	47,889	.2181
1887	230,284	1,355	45,195	.1962
1888*	...	...	41,924*	...
1889	...	...	41,402	...
1890	255,664	...	43,522	.1706*
1891 }	...	...	...	...
1892 }	...	...	79,728 †	...
1893	...	2,861	57,336	...
1894	...	3,863	81,492	...
1895	...	2,764	102,200	...
1896	...	3,876	82,870	...
1897	...	4,166	108,918	...
1898	...	3,699	118,803	...
1899	...	2,188	104,107	...
1900	352,387	1,686	64,586	.1832
1901	...	1,296	49,312	...
1902	...	1,102	36,851	...
1903	...	1,092	34,473	...
1904	...	1,179	36,115	...
1905	...	1,102	33,246	...
1906	400,000	880	32,099	.0802
1907	...	775	31,418	...

* Totals from 1887 to 1897 do not include "sundries."

† This figure \$79,728 covers 18 months, from January 1, 1891, to June 30, 1892.

causes disease, or visiting a family after aid stopped." In a paper at the National Conference of Charities and Corrections in 1904, Mr. Almy suggested that the overseers of the poor in cities and towns should try the experiment of district committees and volunteer coöperation for investigation and constructive work, or even attempt the Elberfeld system outright.

Charity workers in the smaller cities are generally in favor of private rather than public relief, even where they feel that the community is not yet quite prepared to abolish it. In the rural and sparsely populated districts of the West especially, the county system of local government adds to the difficulty of administration. In the smaller area of a township the officials are measurably well acquainted with the people, at least until the population becomes dense, and the people scrutinize public expenditures quite carefully; but under the county system, until the population is large enough to compel the employment of special officials, the writing of orders for outdoor relief is frequently left to the individual supervisors or commissioners. As a rule, each one attends to all applications from the district from which he is elected, and the approval of the entire board is a mere formality. The payments are sometimes made in money, sometimes in orders on stores, and sometimes relief is given in goods purchased by the authorities under contract. Obviously this latter method lends itself least readily to abuse. Where orders are given on stores, the goods selected by the beneficiary are often absurdly unsuitable to his conditions,¹

¹ See Hartford Report, pp. xix, xx, and Table VII. On 594 orders, 132 articles were drawn, among which were canned lobster, green peas, pie, pineapple, canned salmon, and tobacco. There was also some evidence that the orders were used in trade and payment of debts. This system prevailed until recently in the urban county of Alameda, California. In 1905 three supervisory districts placed the investigation of out-relief applicants in the hands of the Associated Charities, with the result that the amount disbursed fell from \$22,930 in 1904 to \$10,157 in 1906.

and in the State of California such orders are frequently traded for liquor.

It is not without significance that the movement to do away with public outdoor relief has kept pace with the development of charity organization. The older type of private outdoor relief — unsystematic, purely palliative — is rapidly being replaced by the constructive ideal of organized charity. Of this ideal, relief — even adequate relief — is the smaller part, since it aims to restore, develop, and educate the family. The excuse for outdoor relief is the typical dependent widow with young children; but in such a case, though public relief may pension the family, it does not do the constructive work of a district agent and a friendly visitor.

In all large centres of population there are certain societies which, together with the churches and private individuals, do a considerable amount of relief work. These agencies dispense an amount which is not large as compared with the total public expenditures for the relief of the poor, but which is sufficient to accomplish a great deal of good or evil in the populations among which it is scattered. Those who insist that public outdoor relief should be abolished, believe that these private associations, in conjunction with the Charity Organization Societies, should care for the cases to whom the alternative of going to the almshouse would be an unmerited hardship. They insist that the private associations are more economical, sympathetic, and discriminating, and since their treasuries are not replenished from the proceeds of taxation, but from free-will offerings, the poor cannot make demands upon them as of right. The experience of Chalmers has often been pointed to as showing that public relief can be swept away entirely, and private benevolence take its place. While those who would imitate him would not go as far as he did, they do ask for the substitution of private for public outdoor relief.

It is undoubtedly true that private associations are best fitted to deal with incipient dependency. But at just what point the line should be drawn between public and private charity, it is difficult to say. If the State should assume the care of those who need control as well as support, as Miss Richmond has suggested, then outdoor relief would be left to private undertaking.

On the whole, it must be admitted that the advisability of giving outdoor relief is chiefly a question of administration. Under the Elberfeld system in Germany, and with the great care exercised by the *Bureaux de Bienfaisance* of France, it has been successful. But it must be remembered that the people of the United States have a larger share of administrative awkwardness than any other civilized population. Nearly all the experiences in this country indicate that outdoor relief is a source of corruption to politics, of expense to the community, and of degradation and increased pauperization to the poor. Even at its best, it has not been found a satisfactory method of relieving distress. In the new communities of the West it has seemed to be almost necessary; but it is always to be watched with care, to be kept at a minimum, and in large cities to be definitely prohibited.

But it should not be forgotten that private charities are just as open to abuse as public ones, though not to exactly the same abuses. In places where the State has relegated much of the work of relieving the poor to private benevolence, and especially to the church, abuses have grown up of as great magnitude as those that preceded the reform of the English poor-law in 1834, while at Elberfeld the present excellent public system originated in a breakdown of the private system. There is a possibility of success or failure by either method; but experience seems to indicate that in the United States, at the present time, private is much safer and more helpful than public outdoor relief, and indeed that the latter should usually be discontinued.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE UNEMPLOYED AND THE HOMELESS POOR.

IN all times of industrial depression, the number of the unemployed is apt to be exaggerated. During the depression of 1873-1878 it was alleged that there were 300,000 mechanics out of employment in Massachusetts; and the statement went unchallenged for more than a year, while figures then available would have shown that there were only 318,000 men in the State engaged in the mechanical pursuits, and the investigation made later by the State Bureau of Labor indicated that the number of unemployed mechanics was less than 30,000. During the depression following the crisis of 1893, the trade-union estimates put the number out of work at about 4,500,000; more conservative estimates, at about 1,000,000. Returns made to Bradstreet's, the results of which were published in December, 1893, show that in 119 cities 801,055 men, with about 1,956,110 persons dependent on them, were out of employment. Carlos C. Closson found in sixty cities 523,080 idle men, an estimate sufficiently close to Bradstreet's return for the same cities to make it probable that these figures actually reflected the facts.

A careful investigation of enforced idleness was made by the Massachusetts Bureau of Labor during the depression of 1885. There were during that year, in Massachusetts, 816,470 persons engaged in gainful occupations; of these, 241,589 were unemployed during part of the year. The time lost, if we consider only the principal occupation of each individual, was 82,744 years; but many persons, when unable to work at their principal occupation, had some

subsidiary work. Making the proper deductions for the time thus put in, the net absolute loss of working time amounted to 78,717.76 years. If this loss were averaged among the 241,590 who lost a certain amount of time, the loss per man was 3.91 months. The Massachusetts Census of 1895 showed that 27 per cent of all workmen (in the factory towns from 39 to 62 per cent) were idle some portion of the year.

While these figures indicate a state of things less dismal than would be inferred from some of the exaggerated statements, yet the actual loss is sufficiently great. The Federal Census of 1890, which is now believed to have been incomplete as to unemployment, showed that, of all workers over ten years of age, 15 per cent were unemployed during some part of the year; the Census of 1900 found 22 per cent were idle a part of the year, while 39 per cent of the male workers were unemployed from four to six months of the year.

Until there is more accurate discrimination between the different classes of the unemployed, all statistics regarding them must be somewhat ambiguous. It is not easy for the ordinary observer to distinguish the honest unemployed from the tramp and the semi-criminal. The men who get their living by looking for work and failing to find it—as Dr. Gladden describes them—are the most in evidence always; while, on the other hand, the genuine unemployed are almost invariably the second-rate and least competent workmen, the first discharged, and therefore in process of deterioration. But until a clear distinction is drawn, in practice as well as in theory, between the unemployable and unemployed, slight progress will be made in meeting the needs of either class.

Geoffrey Drage divides the unemployed into (1) those temporarily without employment, and (2) the chronically unemployed who may be either unskilled and inefficient casual

laborers tending to become unemployable or the chronically unemployable. Percy Alden, while drawing the general line between (1) genuine workers unable to find work, and (2) the unfit, physically and morally, subdivides the latter class into its component parts,—the deficient, the semi-criminal, and the incorrigibly lazy. The deficient, in their turn, may be separated into the aged—often prematurely so from bad conditions and bad habits; the weak and maimed, that is, the “handicapped”; the epileptic; and the drunkard. Provision is made to a slight extent for this relatively small and miscellaneous body of incompetents in almshouses, special employments for the handicapped,¹ epileptic colonies, and inebriate asylums.

The largest part of the problem of the unemployable in past times, as well as at the present, has to do with the sturdy beggar, the “hobo,” or tramp. In England it was estimated years ago that there were 30,000 persons continually on the tramp; and General Booth estimated—probably overestimated—the number of the homeless for the United Kingdom at 165,000. If we cross the English Channel and go to Germany, we hear the same complaint of an extraordinary number of wandering beggars. A great system of friendly inns, provident wood yards, and labor colonies has there been established to provide for them. The same complaint of the curse of vagrancy comes from Russia, and the consular report on vagrancy shows that it prevails almost everywhere.

If, instead of extending our inquiries geographically, we had extended them historically, we should have found the same complaint of an exceptionally large number of wandering beggars made in nearly every age of which we have record. But in recent times the means of cheap transportation, and the consequent breakdown of the passport system

¹ Special Employment Bureau for the Handicapped, see *Charities and the Commons*, vol. xv., pp. 582 ff.; vol. xvi., 1906, pp. 470 ff.

and of settlement laws, have given a new character to vagabondage. It is increasingly easy for men to get away from their duties to families and neighbors, and it is getting to be easier to wander than to work. "Mobility of labor" is a good thing, but it is having some unfortunate results.

In the United States not only in thickly populated districts, but throughout the Far West, where work is abundant and wages high, there is a constant procession of able-bodied men along the lines of railroad begging, intimidating, stealing, and destroying property; some of them willing to work for short periods at high rates and not without skill, but thoroughly inoculated with the wander disease. In times of industrial depression, the number of this class is greatly increased by the addition of discharged workingmen — drinkers first, good single men next, married men last — who tend to become incapable of steady industry. In 1893 Professor McCook estimated the number of tramps in the United States at 46,000; in 1895, at 86,000; and their cost at seventeen millions. In 1905 Major Pangborn, representing the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad, estimated, on the basis of the total number of trespassing tramps annually killed on all railroads, that not less than 430,000 infested the railways in that year; and that their cost, in damage to property and in police protection, was not less than eighteen and a half millions per year.¹

As a consequence of the lack of distinction between the wilful vagrant and the genuine unemployed, the one is not properly repressed, nor is the other adequately helped. The ordinary citizen vacillates between the easy dole and a disbelief that any able-bodied man in so rich a country can really need help. There are four tolerably distinct ways in which various communities in the United States have tried to deal with the homeless and wandering poor. The first and favorite way is to get rid of them as promptly

¹ N. C. C., 1907, "Discussion on Vagrancy," pp. 73-74.

as possible by sending them on. Nearly every large town makes an appropriation for the transportation of paupers, and the poor-law officers of rural communities also devote some money to the same purpose. Such funds are frequently spent without any adequate investigation. The officials having authority simply consider whether it will be cheaper to ship a given person to a place where he says he wishes to go, or to take care of him. In the smaller cities and in rural communities it is the common custom for justices to order vagrants to move on within twenty-four hours, the consequence of which is, that each community receives in turn what the others get rid of.

The obvious objection to this manner of providing for the homeless poor is that it does not provide for them; it is simply a way of shifting burdens from one neighborhood to another. But each community, while recognizing this fact, thinks itself bound to keep up the foolish work, so that it may not serve as the dumping-ground for the poor of all the adjacent communities.

The second way of dealing with the homeless poor is to punish them as misdemeanants — “vag. ’em,” as the police say; that is, arrest them as vagrants and commit them to the jail and workhouse. This is the old English method of dealing with what were called “sturdy beggars.” But in the early days it was not a comfortable jail to which tramps were committed, and wanderers who could give no account of themselves were flogged out of the boundaries of the parish in which they were apprehended. They were also liable to be branded, have their ears cut off, or be treated in some similar fashion which would now be regarded as barbarous. The experience of Massachusetts in 1880 and the years following well illustrates the limitations of such repressive legislation. In 1880 the daily average of tramps lodged was 461; severe tramp laws were passed, and in 1881 the average fell to 105; then enforcement began

to be relaxed, and the number rose in 1886 to nearly the same height as in 1880. Other repressive legislation was passed, the number fell, fluctuated, and finally in 1893 was again at the original figure.

This method, if rigidly applied, may cause tramps to disappear for a time; but there is always a doubt in the minds of the community as to whether or not many cases of honest destitution are not dealt with too harshly. Such stringent laws are very apt to become dead letters, and the evil at which they were aimed flourishes while they are in abeyance.

A third very common way of dealing with the homeless poor is to give them indiscriminately the relief they ask. If a man rings the door-bell and asks for food, give him some; if he asks the price of a night's lodging, let him have it; if men apply for lodgings at the station-house, fit up a room and let them fill it as full as they can fill it and still live; start a free lodging-house, and supplement the lodgings with free meals. If a man comes when it is cold and asks admission to the almshouse, take him in, give him comfortable shelter for the winter, and then, when spring comes, let him depart. This was the method employed in mediæval monasteries, and is still more or less practised in most of our American cities. The trouble with this method is that "we can have as many tramps as we will pay for."

A Western farm-hand once gave an account of his experience during three months when he had wandered about with tramps as a tramp. After telling of the way in which he got a living, and of the many sharp practices resorted to, he concluded in a meditative and almost puzzled way, "Oh, it was a good deal of fun, but somehow or other I didn't like it." He had stood at the parting of the ways. It had been in his power to become a laborer or to become a tramp, and he chose the better part. He now has considerable property and a family. Now, if the persons to whom he applied had been a little more liberal and equally

thoughtless, if the jails to which he was liable to have been committed had been a little more comfortable, if in the cities he happened to visit he had found a few more institutions for furnishing free lodgings and free soup, his choice might have been different. His case is not a typical one, for the average man does not consciously decide, but rather drifts into the life of vagabondage through following the line of least resistance. In this, as in other cases, indiscriminate giving is to be deplored, not so much because it wastes money as because it corrupts men.

The fourth method, which is, in fact, a modification and improvement upon the one just described, is to give indiscriminately, but never to give without applying the work test. It is substantially the method of the English Casual Ward and of the Boston Wayfarers' Lodge in the United States. In Boston each man must take a warm bath on entering, and receives a bed and a wholesome breakfast, in return for which he cuts and saws wood for one or two hours. In Philadelphia the Society for Organizing Charity has placed in charge of its two Wayfarers' Lodges a charity worker of experience, who gives his whole time to personal work among the men, making every effort, especially for the younger ones, to get them out of the wayfaring life into regular work or back into home surroundings.¹

On reviewing these methods of dealing with the homeless poor already mentioned, it is apparent that each is adapted to certain classes of applicants: some should be given direct relief, some should be punished, and some should be sent to other places. There are tramps and tramps; any method that enables us to deal with them properly must enable us to discriminate among them.

¹ A tabular view of the methods of eradicating vagrancy in the United States is given in N. C. C., 1903, p. 415. In 1905-1906 the Philadelphia lodges handled 4100 men, 70 per cent of whom were native-born and under 40 years of age; 55 per cent were unskilled, 30 per cent more only "somewhat skilled"; 23,000 lodgings and 56,000 meals were worked for.

The most recent and thorough discussion of the vagrancy problem is that by Orlando F. Lewis before the National Conference of Charities and Corrections in 1907. Mr. Lewis considers wood yards, lodges, and city lodging-houses good and necessary as means of temporary relief, but thinks they do not materially diminish the army of tramps. Such methods merely drive the vagrants from one community to another and do not solve the national problem. He presents a constructive programme for dealing with the vagrant unemployable who should be first attacked. Briefly stated this is as follows:¹—

The treatment of vagrancy should be deterrent, and to that end the laws against tramping should be strengthened, enforced strictly, and made national in their scope. Trespass on railroads, especially, should involve sentence to imprisonment at hard labor, which must be secured by the coöperation of railway and town authorities, at the expense of the State; and sentences should be cumulative. Vagrants should not be lodged in police stations, but in a municipal lodging-house, under the control of the State Board of Health; or if in almshouses, they must be in separate quarters. Common lodging-houses should also be carefully supervised by the Health Board in respect to ventilation, sanitation, and cleanliness; and all charitable lodgings should be models of their class. In each State should be established at least one compulsory labor colony and one hospital for inebriates. Finally, there should be an exchange among charitable societies of important facts regarding vagrants, and the State Board of Charity should exert themselves actively to secure proper legislation and treatment.

In 1905 the State of Massachusetts passed laws embodying the more important of these principles, which resulted

¹ Almost all of the remedies proposed by Mr. Lewis had been proposed singly by others at some time, but he has the distinction of bringing them together and unifying them into a programme for immediate action.

in a decrease of 60 per cent in tramps lodged in almshouses and of 90 per cent of those lodged in towns. In Chicago the establishment of a municipal lodging-house, and the prohibition of police stations as lodgings for tramps, resulted in a decline of the number of free lodgings from 92,591 to 11,097. This lodging-house was able to find casual employment for about 30 per cent of its lodgers.

Mr. Lewis's programme further includes the coöperation of special railway and State police officers, with the town police and city mendicancy police officers in the enforcement of vagrancy laws. What can be done by a single experiment to repress and cure local vagrancy may be illustrated by the mendicancy squad of the New York Charity Organization Society. This was a small body of "plain clothes" men detailed to the Society to arrest beggars. In 1904-1905 they arrested 1863 persons, of whom 60 per cent were not physically defective but normally able-bodied persons. Of these 1476 were committed by the magistrates to some institution (generally penal). This work resulted in driving from the city the "yegg" or criminal mendicant who had formerly thriven there. The constructive work of the Mendicancy Committee consisted in helping such of the beggars as showed some hope of reform to become self-supporting.¹ They also published a confidential bulletin

¹ Two stories will serve to show the character of the constructive work of the committee: (1) "Twist, so known in the criminal world because of his club feet, is now, one year after the operation which made him a normal physical being, — apparently, — settled in his old home earning \$13.50 per week in his father's mill. This man, for fourteen years a thief and a beggar, endured terms in State Prison and workhouses with the stoicism of the criminal, but could not successfully withstand the kindness which recognized in him a human being with possibilities for good."

(2) "X, a young German of honest parentage, who, disappointed in lack of success in establishing himself in congenial employment from the first, took to the hazardous chances of the 'road,' lost both legs, and became a beggar. Two years have elapsed since his arrest by a social police, and to-day, after honorable service in a social Settlement, he has commenced business in a Southern city." — Report N. Y. C. O. S., 1903-1904,

for the use of other cities in identifying the professional beggar and impostor who travels from city to city.¹

However useful such isolated efforts may be to a particular community, the immediate result is to increase the same evils in adjoining States and cities. The need for a national movement to suppress vagrancy is now recognized, and much may be hoped from the work of the National Vagrancy Committee appointed in 1907. It is expected that the first effort of this body will be devoted to securing coöperation among railway, city and town authorities, and boards and societies of public and private charities for better legislation and enforcement.²

The machinery necessary for dealing properly with the local problem of the homeless poor can be adapted to any community with comparative ease. It consists of an institution or place where the work test can be rigidly applied, and where a man can earn his support pending an investigation of his case. Secondly, it includes facilities for giving meals and lodgings; thirdly, facilities for bathing and for disinfecting clothing; and fourthly, some person to investigate the case of each applicant thoroughly, and to act as circumstances require. If the applicant claims to have a residence, or to be able to get work somewhere else, or if he admits having relatives and friends elsewhere, or whatever may be his story, he should be sent to the wood yard to earn his living while it is being investigated. No man should be assisted to leave the city unless it appears on some authority, additional to his own, that he would be better off in the place to which he is sent. Many men, after telling their story and taking the card which would admit them to the lodging-house and wood yard, never

¹ The Police Commissioner of New York City discontinued the mendicancy squad in February, 1906, on the ground of economy. The arrests fell off 50 per cent in the year following.

² *Charities and the Commons*, vol. xviii., 1907, pp. 342 ff.

present it. Some are conscious that their story will not bear investigation, and some do not care to work while it is being investigated. All cases of honest destitution, whether the applicant be a boy, a man, or a woman, may be dealt with in the same kindly but thorough-going fashion; and the result is help for the deserving and disappointment for the loafer and impostor.

Many of those interested in the establishment of municipal lodging-houses have thought that the whole tramp problem would be solved by their institution; but there are certain difficulties attendant upon their management not usually reckoned with. In the first place, it is almost impossible to find anything that is really profitable for the men to do. If they saw wood, they come in competition with steam-saws, and if they break stone, with steam stone-crushers. In some places it was found that it cost more per cord to supply the district with sawed wood from the yard in connection with the municipal lodging-house than it did to get sawed wood direct from the contractor. Other societies find continual difficulty in disposing of their wood supply in competition with the regular dealers. Where every stick of wood that a man saws costs a little more than if the man did nothing at all, we have manifestly not reached any real solution of the difficulty. It is just this impossibility of finding remunerative work for labor which is on the whole incompetent that has induced the English workhouses to give pure task-work to the inmates of their casual wards. But work which is avowedly task-work is not only unprofitable, but it is almost as degrading to the man who does it as to receive relief for which he makes no return. Its only justification is its deterrent influence. It is profitable because it reduces the number of applicants. Where wood yards have been made to pay expenses, it is because some man has donated to the work sufficient managerial ability to make up for the poor quality of the labor and methods used.

Another reason why the lodging-house and wood yard does not solve all the difficulty, is that its management seems to have an inveterate tendency to become mechanical. Interest is lost in the individuals; and they are ground through the regular routine without any real attempt being made to get hold of the helpable, and to punish habitual and degraded vagrants. As a consequence, there comes to be a very considerable army of intermittently drunken loafers who rely upon the lodging-house and wood yard as a place where they can always get something to eat and a lodging for the night. They are not unwilling to work for a short time and in a perfunctory way. The multiplication of this class, or at least the toleration of it as it multiplies, is said to be one of the serious evils connected with the *Naturalverpflegungsstationen* in Germany.¹ Where small account is taken of individuals, men can come repeatedly to the lodging-house in spite of a rule limiting their residence there to not more than three days at any one time.

The chief advantage of the wood-yard and lodging-house arrangement is that it gives the citizens of the locality an opportunity to refuse all unknown applicants for relief, and to send them to the lodging-house. More than that, if there be but one of these lodging-houses in a city, or if those that exist coöperate one with another, it is possible to stop that drifting about from one place to another in the same town, which enables a vagrant to stay there through the whole winter. This centralization is one of the very best things resulting from the establishment of municipal lodging-houses.

The machinery described is necessary machinery; but it will not run itself, and it will not solve the tramp problem. It gives the basis for proper action, but does not insure it. As already suggested, proper action can come only after

¹ Alden, "The Unemployed," pp. 55-56.

there has been a careful discrimination between cases. Thorough dealing with the tramp problem in the United States is impossible until we have reformed our infamous system of county jails. At present, a man who is sentenced for vagrancy is usually sent for from ten to ninety days to a warm and pleasant jail, where he can play cards, chew tobacco, discuss crime, and tell indecent stories with his peers. To threaten a vagabond with arrest under such circumstances, is merely a promise to do him a favor.

There are probably resources sufficient in almost any American community to deal with the problem of the homeless poor efficiently and completely, if they could only be organized so as to meet the genuine needs. The trouble has been that here, as in England, we have vacillated between excessive severity and excessive leniency, oftener erring on the latter side than on the former, until the tramp has become an institution, and appears to think that he has an inalienable right to life, liberty, and the pursuit of vagabondage.

If there were the proper punitive methods in operation for removing the tramp and the beggar summarily to institutions where they must work, a large amount of charitable energy and resource would be released to assist the honest unemployed. Under normal industrial conditions and except in a few congested districts, lack of employment in America will usually be found connected with some personal deficiency of character, or with incompetence and lack of adaptability, although there is always a number — relatively small — who are out of work through no fault of their own.

There are those who, being engaged for short periods only, have finished one job and not yet entered on another. Others belong to trades in which the volume of work fluctuates, because of seasonal changes, most commonly during a year, but sometimes during longer periods, as in the ship-

building trades, and sometimes during periods of less than a year. Still others are economically superfluous, from too many learning such trades, from changes in trade processes, or from local shifting of industries. The best 1000 unemployed members of a given group of trades at any given time are less efficient, whether from physical, moral, or intellectual defects, than the worst 1000 who are in actual employment at the same time. To a very large extent, manifestly, the problem is an industrial rather than a charitable one. It is only when non-employment results in destitution that its treatment is germane to our present purposes.

During the years immediately succeeding the crisis of 1893, special relief work for the destitute unemployed was carried forward on a scale never before known or needed in this country. The work of the New York East Side Relief Committee and of the Commercial Club of Indianapolis illustrate the most satisfactory of these emergency undertakings.¹ The East Side Relief Committee was made up of persons of experience in charity, settlement, and educational agencies in the locality in which relief was required. In order not to draw the unemployed from other districts, it avoided advertising and distributed tickets entitling the recipient to relief in work, through trade-unions, churches, and charities. Workers were paid in money, and no food stations were opened. Several classes of work were provided: street-cleaning in coöperation with the city street-cleaning commissioner; tailoring in shops, the products of which were sent partly to the cyclone sufferers in South Carolina, and partly distributed among the destitute through churches and charitable societies; sewing, knitting, mat and quilt making for women at home; renovating tenement houses (with the permission of landlords) by whitewashing

¹ Details will be found in *Charities Review*, vol. iii., 1894, pp. 323 ff.; Devine, "Principles of Relief," pp. 412 ff.

and removal of refuse. About 5000 men and women were employed at a total cost of \$118,000.

In Indianapolis the undertaking took quite different form. The first step consisted in registration of the unemployed and temporary relief in coöperation with the Charity Organization Society. Tramps were arrested and sent to the workhouse, where a stone-pile provided work. In January, 1894, a food market was organized in two departments,—one for registration and investigation, the other to issue food. A corps of visitors investigated the claim to residence and the need of the applicant, and when found *bona fide*, an account book was issued to him. In this book was an agreement, which the applicant was required to sign, that he would pay on demand, in labor, at a specified price, for all supplies charged to his account. A little later when arrangements for providing work on the streets, in excavation, etc., had been made, the applicant was given a card directing him to report to the Street Commissioner for work. Credits for work entitled him to supplies for his family at the food depot.

As the Indianapolis Committee were obliged to give credit for rations for some time before work was required, they found shortly that there was a disposition on the part of many men not to work, and of women to draw rations as "widows" and "deserted wives." This compelled the enforcement of a rule of "no work, no rations," and a requirement of labor in washing for the women.

The organization of emergency relief in such times of financial depression is sufficiently beset with difficulties, but there is always some time in which to anticipate and provide for the most serious of these if the community will avail itself of experienced social workers. In the emergency created by flood, cyclone, fire, and earthquake, the problem is much more serious, because relief must be instantly organized, and often by persons with slight experi-

ence in dealing with destitution. A considerable portion of any hitherto self-supporting population will be so demoralized by the disaster as to expect, if not demand, relief without work. The greatest problem, therefore, as soon as the necessary food and shelter have been provided for the immediate need, is how to prevent those who have been self-supporting from deteriorating through hardships, dislocation, and lack of work; and how to restore to normal self-support those who have been temporarily demoralized by free relief. In such emergencies it is obvious that the assistance of trained workers from other localities, who have had experience in dealing with such a situation, is of the highest value. It is of almost equal importance that such experience should be carefully registered as history, and that ultimately these histories should be the basis on which shall be formulated some principles of emergency relief to guide all workers in subsequent disasters.

For the guidance of those devising special relief in times of financial depression resulting in widespread unemployment, certain general principles have already emerged as the result of English and American experience. The successive steps and the general methods may be briefly summarized:—

1. Registration and investigation of all applicants in order to determine the degree of need, and to enforce a requirement of residence. Without this precaution, relief of any sort will tend to draw outsiders to the place where it is offered.

2. Work of at least two classes—more, if possible—should be provided. Frequently the work available is too heavy, or is unsuitable for men who are not strong, or who have been accustomed to indoor trades. In this respect the kinds of work offered by the New York East Side Committee are particularly suggestive.

3. Wages and hours should be as nearly as possible at

the standard rate; if the pay is too low, the families will deteriorate; if at normal rates, some men will not make the effort to get back into regular industry, and outsiders will try to press in.

4. Good superintendents, in sufficient number to control the employees, and to select and place them at work according to character and ability, are absolutely necessary.

5. Relief works should be necessary and productive, and it is better if the work can be made continuous for some time for each individual.

6. Whenever public authorities or private persons see an opportunity to do at unusually low rates, because of the hard times, work that needs doing, they ought to push such work, on business and not relief principles, and in the general following of this policy is to be found a radical remedy for trade depression. If it can be work such as would not otherwise be done at all, or not immediately, it will interfere the less with regular employments. Mr. Percy Alden urges that every municipality should keep in readiness a certain amount of public work which can be given to the selected unemployed. The London County Council, in a report in 1903, suggested that there were several thousand public buildings, the cleaning and renovation of which would afford employment in the slack months. In the United States it would often be a public economy, as well as offer work to men thrown out in slack times or by seasonal trades, if Boards of Public Works would plan to carry on general municipal improvements when work is least abundant.

In short, it may be concluded that relief in work should be given by substantially the same methods as other kinds of relief, and always with a view to the restoration of the applicant to a normal condition as soon as possible. While, in the future, efforts may be made by employers and by municipal and governmental boards generally, to distribute

and equalize employment throughout the year, care must always be taken not to undermine initiative and self-reliance of the individual. The East Side Relief Committee recorded their conviction that emergency methods should be adopted only under abnormal conditions, and finally concluded : —

“ When industry and trade are natural, the only safe course for the working people is to accommodate themselves to their circumstances or to change them by their own action. The efforts of philanthropists to compensate, by artificial means, for irregularity of work or low wages, can only result in mischief.”

In dealing with the unemployed in normal times, Professor Devine lays down the principle, —

“ that the obligation to find employment, like the obligation to continue suitable employment when one has it, rests primarily on the applicant himself ; ”

and he adds : —

“ It is quite possible to undermine self-reliance by doing gratuitously the things which a self-respecting man will do for himself.”

The workingman of good habits, ordinarily earning fair wages, may be expected to save something in the shape of bank deposits, trade-union benefits, or unemployment insurance ; and he should not be discouraged by the sight of the lazy and shiftless obtaining easy relief from charitable societies.

From the charitable point of view, by far the larger part of the relief necessitated by lack of work consists in the rehabilitation of character and the finding of a niche in industry for subnormal persons,—a task demanding not only infinite patience and ingenuity, but a high degree of spiritual insight and faith. The other part consists in tiding over families temporarily destitute on account of seasonal or intermittent employment. How frequent an occurrence this is likely to be has already been pointed

out in the chapter on the Conditions of Poverty. In her study of 200 families in New York City, Mrs. More notes that a considerable number of men have an alternative trade. As an example of what may be accomplished by charity in this direction, the work of the Philadelphia Vacant Lots Cultivation Association may be cited. Organized in 1897 as an emergency relief measure for the unemployed, it has gradually been converted into a permanent "business school" for those out of work because of age, disability, or slack trade. In 1903, 275 acres of land within the city, subdivided into 768 gardens and cultivated by 3609 persons, yielded \$36,000 of produce at a total cost to the contributors of less than \$5000 for superintendence and materials.

It would be impossible to present here any extensive account of the great variety of experiments and institutions for the solution of the problem of the unemployed in England and on the Continent. A vast amount of information upon them is now accessible in our own language, and has recently been summarized and discussed from the English point of view in Mr. Percy Alden's useful little book, "The Unemployed." While most of the agencies described there could not be transplanted profitably to this country with its very different problems, yet the results are most valuable by way of warning and suggestion. In the last analysis, we must agree, the problem of the unemployed is industrial, not charitable; and in as far as every philanthropic person is himself a citizen and a worker, he will be engaged in the effort after an economic solution.

CHAPTER IX.

DEPENDENT CHILDREN.

WORK for dependent children is the most hopeful branch of charitable endeavor in that it affords more possibilities of constructive work than any other line. In charities for the aged, the sick, the defective, even for the unemployed, one is conscious that for the individuals dealt with there is no probability of any high measure of success. There is little else possible than to make the best of unfortunate circumstances, to deal with palliatives, to brighten individual lives, and to prevent misfortune from spreading. With children, on the other hand, especially the quite young and tolerably healthy, there is a possibility of more positive results. The young life contains within itself the principle of growth, and may be enabled to expand into something actively useful. But if the work for children has thus its specially hopeful side, it has also its corresponding dangers, and imposes upon those who would undertake it a responsibility such as has no exact counterpart in other departments. When the life of a dependent child is misdirected, the misfortune entailed upon the individual and the community is far-reaching. Fifty years hence, many of the children now dependent will still be suffering from or profiting by the training that charity affords them.

According to the Census of 1903-1904, about one-fourth of all the benevolent institutions in the United States are devoted to the care of orphans or other dependent children, four-fifths of which are under private or ecclesiastical management. Table LVIII. on the following page shows the

number of children in institutions (excluding reformatories) in 1880, 1890, and 1904. A very slight consideration shows that the number in institutions in any State has no definite ratio to the population; nor does the general increase since 1880 bear any apparent relation to the increase of general population. It is evident that the differences between States of similar economic conditions must be explained by the prevailing policy regarding the care of children. If the institutional policy is general, the number of institutional inmates will be greater than where outdoor relief or the placing-out systems are in general use. Where the numbers are small, it may mean one of three things: that dependent children are few, that they are inadequately provided for, or that some other method than the institutional prevails. Wherever the difference between numbers admitted and number remaining at the end of the year is considerable, it indicates that the children have been placed out in homes.

TABLE LVIII.

INMATES OF ORPHANAGES AND CHILDREN'S HOMES, 1903-1904.

STATE OR TERRITORY.	NUMBER ADMITTED DURING 1904.*	NUMBER REMAINING DEC. 31, 1904.*	NUMBER IN INSTITUTIONS 1890.†	NUMBER IN INSTITUTIONS 1880.†
New York	18,171	24,907	22,653	18,624
Illinois	7,587	5,245	2,703	1,453
Ohio	6,292	7,670	4,149	5,970
Massachusetts	5,443	3,953	8,263	3,463
Pennsylvania	4,786	10,418	8,278	7,839
California	3,404	4,680	8,237	2,509
Missouri	2,544	2,697	1,613	1,643
New Jersey	1,794	2,598	1,574	1,049
Indiana	1,660	2,934	1,762	915
Michigan	1,586	1,669	1,144	747
Maryland	1,299	2,165	1,459	1,653
Louisiana	1,188	1,899	1,682	1,991
Connecticut	1,028	1,854	728	466
Minnesota	1,018	1,220	897	126
Kentucky	968	1,482	819	950
	58,738	75,461	56,060	48,908

TABLE LVIII. — *Continued.*

<i>Amount forwarded</i>	58,738	75,401	56,060	48,908
Colorado	933	650	212	...
Wisconsin	877	1,283	1,117	656
Kansas	864	567	161	55
Rhode Island	838	753	522	319
Texas	736	1,061	473	206
Iowa	661	1,162	568	190
District of Columbia	606	967	818	...
Tennessee	591	862	605	302
North Carolina	587	1,247	212	162
New Hampshire	554	981	256	144
Nebraska	526	303	111	...
Georgia	463	1,111	502	461
Maine	410	569	196	198
Washington	390	359	184	...
Virginia	380	938	380	354
Oregon	355	255	105	69
South Carolina	251	727	439	397
Utah	237	232	...	...
Arkansas	209	177	...	...
Alabama	207	529	340	226
Indian Territory	203	205	...	...
Montana	179	832	...	...
South Dakota	156	101	...	...
Delaware	142	391	163	118
New Mexico	131	106	...	...
Mississippi	104	270	156	149
West Virginia	104	198	74	69
Vermont	100	181	203	176
Florida	98	119	16	4
North Dakota	95	68	...	...
Oklahoma	61	48	...	...
Nevada	9	56	49	187
	70,825	92,289	65,651	50,579

* Not including children in almshouses and reformatories.

† Not including children in reformatories.

The care of destitute infants (children under two years of age) is sharply distinguished from the care of older dependent children. Among the former the death-rate is the principal index of success or failure, while among the latter the death-rate is always low and the attention must be given to evidences of right or wrong development afforded by the character and subsequent careers of the children.

In a great majority of cases, it can matter but little to the individual infant whether it is murdered outright or is placed in a foundling hospital — death comes only a little sooner in one case than in the other. This fact, that foundling hospitals are, for the most part, places where infants die, is not sufficiently appreciated by the public. A death-rate of 97 per cent per annum for children under three years of age is not uncommon.¹ The printed reports of institutions for infants usually do not give the number of deaths. One foundling hospital, the president of which was a prominent physician, stated in each annual report that the death-rate was comparatively low. When the president was asked what the exact death-rate was, he admitted that he did not know, and would not know how to compute one. It was found that the average number of inmates in this institution was thirty, and the number of deaths in the preceding year had been forty-five. In an institution where no exact death-rate was computed, a study of the books brought out the following facts: in five months twenty-three children had been admitted; in the succeeding seven months, four of these children had been given in adoption, one was in the institution, and eighteen had died. Twenty-eight infants were consigned one after another by a public official to a private institution administered by a religious order, and they all died.

Of course this high death-rate comes in part from the bad condition of the children when received. They are often marasmic, rachitic, syphilitic, half dead from drugging or neglect, or from ante-natal or post-natal abuse. Yet this does not explain entirely the high death-rate common to institutions, as is shown by the fact that strong, thriving babies droop and die in them, and by the further fact that improved methods of caring for these same children bring

¹ N. C. C., 1889, p. 1, gives an instance. Previous to 1898 practically all babies sent to the Infants' Hospital on Randall's Island died.

down the death-rate to almost that of the average population for corresponding ages. The high death-rate where children are cared for in institutions often results from positive neglect. A baby, if not attended to, gets into a very bad condition in a very short time. A woman who has from four to eight babies to take care of is apt to become neglectful. It is possible to clean them up for visiting day, or the inspection of directors or supervisors, but to keep them all clean and comfortable through twenty-four hours of the day, seven days in the week, and fifty-two weeks in the year, is another matter. Sometimes they are left to lie in their cribs scalded by urine and in a miserable plight generally. The attendants, being assigned more work than they can do, settle into the conviction that it does not much matter whether they do anything at all or not. If attendants are hired, it is difficult to get the best class of help for such work. If they are members of a religious order, the chances of self-devotion are better; but the Sisters are often ignorant and tolerably selfish women, and are usually overworked.

Even when the infants are not neglected, and when, apparently, the attendants do everything possible for their comfort, the death-rate is still high. It is not possible to raise babies by wholesale. The institution baby lacks, and must lack, that affectionate handling which gives exercise to the baby muscles, and the zest to infant existence which makes it worth while for the child to live. Though the ward of an asylum be flooded with sunlight, as it frequently is not, and though the bed be clean and dry, as it often is not, yet there still is lacking the light and warmth of affection and the comforts of personal attention.

Feeding the children is another difficulty. The doctors do their best in recommending sterilized foods of all kinds and descriptions, but the infants still insist on dying. One institution in a Southern State, under the care of Sisters of Charity, undertook as a last resort to keep goats for the

children to nurse, but with no good results. Many institutions admit a woman with a baby on condition that she shall nurse that and another. This is usually hard on the other baby, and the presence of a large number of these mothers under one roof makes administration very difficult. Others board the infants out with wet-nurses. This is the method of the State Charities Aid Association of New York for all babies under six months old. This Association organized a Joint Committee in 1898 to assist the Commissioner of Public Charities in boarding out foundlings who had previously been sent to the Infants' Hospital on Randall's Island. The Joint Committee selected the families in which the babies were placed, watched over them there, and provided any funds necessary in addition to the amount allowed by the city.¹ The saving of life by the boarding-out system, and particularly wet-nurses for those under six months, is shown in Table LIX.

TABLE LIX.

INFANTS IN MANHATTAN, BRONX, AND BROOKLYN.

Received from the Department of Charities.*

	FOUNDINGS.	MOTHERLESS AND ABANDONED.	TOTAL.	MORTALITY PER CENT.
1898-1899	68	. . .	86	59.9
1899-1900	36	. . .	36	31.1
1900-1901	56	. . .	56	18.9
1901-1902	80	2	82	10.7
1902-1903	72	56	128	14.0
1903-1904	58	52	110	10.0
1904-1904 (8 mos.)	40	54	94	10.3
1904-1905	63	120	183	11.3
1905-1906	69	79	148	11.6
	542	363	905	

* Report of State Charities Aid Association, 1906, p. 85.

¹ At first \$2 per week, later \$2.50, and in 1906 \$2.66 for board.

Where there is a large and healthy laboring class, this plan works very well. It is the method pursued in Paris, where the infants are sent out into the country, chiefly with the wives of peasants. In the Southern States suitable wet-nurses can often only be found among the colored people. The Massachusetts State Board of Charity, following the example of the Massachusetts Infant Asylum,¹ boards out infants in the country villages about Boston, placing them with women who bring them up by artificial feeding. About \$10 per month is paid for the board of each child, and clothing is furnished by the officials. By carefully selecting the families, by subsequent visitation and frequent calls, at both stated and unexpected times, and by keeping constantly subject to summons a physician working on a salary paid by the State, it has been found possible to bring the death-rate among these children to 12.5 per cent.²

As a result of the success of these methods, there are some who believe that a foundling asylum is a perfectly useless institution, since an efficient society or public official could readily find homes in which infants could be received temporarily, and from which they could be placed in families that would care for them indefinitely, if properly paid. While most authorities are not willing to do away with

¹ They receive no child over nine months old, and dispose of the children when they reach the age of two. The death-rate among this class of dependents before they began operations had been about ninety in a hundred. They have devoted themselves especially to the work of devising ways to save the lives of these children. Their plan now is to board out about three-fourths of the babies, and to keep the others, usually in the care of wet-nurses, in an institution especially designed for the purpose. In the early years, when occupying an ordinary house and employing only a few wet-nurses, the death-rate, obtained by comparing the total number of different children in charge of the asylum during the year with the total number of deaths, ranged from twenty-six to forty-five. Under the newer methods this rate has been reduced to five, and even less. Even when the State Board was sending a large number of foundlings, the death-rate was never higher than sixteen, and sometimes went as low as eight.

² Report, 1905-1906.

institutions for babies altogether, there is a strong tendency to keep infants for shorter periods in asylums and to place them with wet-nurses and at board in families as soon as possible.

In general, the conditions of institutional care of babies have rapidly improved in recent years. In Baltimore, for instance, three leading specialists have prepared for the supervisors of the city charities a set of requirements for such institutions. Each baby must have 1000 cubic feet of air space, and abundant porch space, and must spend at least four hours a day in the open; there must be a ward in readiness for infectious diseases, which must be perfectly fumigated; and an experienced nurse for every 20 babies, and a nursery maid for every 4. The milk supply must be of standard purity, a proper sterilizing plant must be maintained, and at least 20 napkins a day provided for each child.¹

Next to the actual preservation of the life of the child, the most important question connected with the care of destitute infants is upon what conditions they shall be received. The mediæval device long used in France consisted of a double cradle. When the child had been placed in the cradle on the outside of the building, the contrivance was revolved, ringing a bell as it turned. By this process the child was placed in the institution, and another cradle was waiting at once for the next comer. The purpose of these *tours* was to make it so easy to get rid of babies that there might be no temptation to infanticide. The agitation for the abolition of this system of admission was bitterly resisted, Lamartine speaking of it as a case of "*figures vs. humanity*." When the *tours* had been suppressed in some of the departments, attention was called to the fact that infanticide increased thereafter. But further examination of the statistics showed that infanticide had also increased

¹ *Charities, etc.*, vol. xviii., p. 232, 1907.

in those departments where the *tours* were still in operation; in fact, it had increased faster in the latter than in the former. This last-mentioned fact seems to reflect the actual results of such appliances, and of all instances of laxness in receiving unwanted children from parents. Its indirect influence is so to promote disregard of parental ties and infant life that more children are murdered outright than where it is less easy for parents to get rid of offspring. This conclusion, which seems to be tolerably well established, is sufficient in itself, without resort to the common plea that easy disposal of offspring promotes illegitimacy, and without reference to the money cost of the laxer methods. It is not, as Lamartine said, a case of "figures *vs.* humanity," but rational and helpful sympathy *vs.* diseased and mischievous sympathy.

The Foundling Asylum of the Sisters of Charity in the city of New York (now the New York Foundling Hospital), under Sister Irene, affords the best-known American example of facilities offered for the abandonment of infants. A cradle was formerly placed in the vestibule, in which infants could be placed without observation from those inside. At last, however, they began to come two or three in a single night;¹ the cradle was then put inside the door, and an applicant must ring the bell. If a mother brought her child, she was asked to stay and nurse her child and another. If she refused, she was allowed to depart without further question, leaving the infant. Perhaps a majority of foundling hospitals in the United States make no adequate investigation and keep no adequate record of the parentage of children received. There are some cases where any investigation must be fruitless; but the experience of the Pennsylvania Children's Aid Society and the Massachusetts State Board of Lunacy and Charity proves that if trouble

¹ The first year 1399 babies were placed in the crib. Mrs. Bouvier, "New York Conference on Child-caring," pp. 71-72.

enough is taken, thorough investigations usually bring out some helpful facts, and that such a course is not only wise but kindly. It has a bad effect upon all concerned — for a woman or a man to be able to dispose of a baby “and no questions asked.”¹

There is, naturally, a close relation between the infant asylums and the maternity hospitals. What happens to the young unmarried mother has been described in the report of the State Charities Aid Association of New York: —

“From the doors of the great maternity hospital there are four diverging roads for the young traveller who is an unmarried mother. One road leads to desertion of the child in a convenient hallway; another to the crèche of a foundling hospital; a third, to a boarding home, good or indifferent, for the child. And in many ways all of these are easier to travel than the fourth road. . . . It takes moral courage . . . to face the world with an unwelcomed child in her arms and work for its support.”²

In most cases it is quite certain that to enable a mother to leave her infant is a gratuitous mistake. Even if the child be illegitimate, her maternal instincts are the best thing about her. She is salvable through these, or probably not at all. To give her facilities for deadening these instincts is to do her final harm. Experience has shown that with a little kindly aid she can usually be enabled to keep the child and support herself and it. At the worst, she can enter an institution for a time, and nurse her child and another. Experiments in the cities of Boston, Philadelphia, and New York have shown that suitable service places in the country can be found to which destitute mothers may go, taking their children with them. The demand for this

¹ Massachusetts, some years ago, passed very radical legislation designed to suppress “baby-farming.” Persons making a business of boarding infants for pay are required to report to the State Board of Lunacy and Charity, and to submit to its supervision.

² Report of State Charities Aid Association, 1906, p. 39.

class of help usually exceeds the supply. A single society in New York has provided 5327 situations for deserted wives, unmarried mothers, and widows with their children during the last thirteen years.¹

If judiciously placed, a majority of these women give satisfaction to their employers, and are satisfied themselves. It is said that they do as well as those who take situations without children, and in many instances they are more reliable for help in the country. Of course a destitute woman with no one to help her support her child has not an easy life before her; but, on the whole, life will be happier and healthier in every way if she is aided in keeping her child than if she is aided in getting rid of it.

Children over two years of age live quite persistently. Therefore, as regards these, we do not need to examine so closely the death-rate, for they may be very improperly cared for, and the death-rate still be low. The first question of importance regarding them, is upon what terms they shall be received and supported as dependents.

The rules of private institutions for receiving children are very various and often very erratic. Sometimes illegitimacy is a prerequisite. One endowed institution required that a child should be the legitimate offspring of parents both of whom had been members of the Presbyterian Church, and one or both of whom were dead. In some institutions children are received temporarily, and in others they are not admitted unless the natural parents give up all title to them. The rules of admission to private institutions are usually lax in practice if not in form; but they are nowhere so lax as in those States where the managers admit the child, and the State or city government is then constrained by law to pay for its maintenance without question. The financial aspects of this system will be considered later, but here

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 39. In 1907 the Pennsylvania Aid Society placed 587 mothers with children in domestic service.

must be noted its extreme perniciousness as regards the children.

Two things are necessary in order that agencies for the care of children may avoid the evil of encouraging the temporary or permanent abandonment of children. The first is, that the case of every child received must be thoroughly investigated by some competent agent; and the second is, that when relatives give up a child to be a dependent, they must give up all title to it. Guardianship should be vested completely in the agency that takes care of the child.

As to the first point, most private institutions for children are unduly negligent. It frequently happens that children are received through the influence of some member of the board of managers, or by a sympathetic matron, until the institution is overcrowded, and cases far more deserving of care then go unprovided for. Even where the matron or a member of the board of managers tries to make an investigation, it is work in which such a person is not an expert, and it is too often ill done. The business of deciding when children ought to be taken from parents, or received from parents, is becoming a specialty by itself; and the societies for the protection of children and children's aid societies ought to be asked to investigate all doubtful cases. So grave is the abuse of receiving children too readily, and so great is the injury to the children themselves when so received, that some of those identified with the most progressive work for children, hold that no child should be placed in an institution except on judicial approval, and a finding that the given child is delinquent or dependent. This rule they would have applied to institutions wholly supported by private funds, as well as to public institutions and private institutions receiving public subsidies. Careful investigation in not a few cases reveals a better way of providing for the child than to place it in the institution. Whenever it is found that the parents or the surviving parent are of good

character and suitable guardians, they should be helped to keep the child at home.¹

The second rule, namely, that when parents or relatives leave a child to be supported by charitable agency, they should lose all title to it, seems a hard one, yet in the great majority of cases it is thoroughly salutary. Perhaps the rule which refuses to receive a child for more than two weeks without having guardianship vested in the institution, affords as much latitude as ought to be given. Against this view it is urged that parents are after all the best guardians of their children, and if the time ever comes when they can take care of their own, it is better that the children be returned. But experience shows that it has a bad effect on parents as parents to get rid of the care of their children for a time, and that they spoil the life of a child by selfishly taking it home when they think it is old enough to be of service. Parents who cannot support their children usually have not the capacity required to bring up a child in a healthful way and in a healthful environment. Besides this, the privilege of temporarily disposing of a child is frequently the means of bringing about its permanent abandonment. As affection wanes in consequence of absence, parents that would have found some way to support their children rather than give them up in the first instance, gradually accustom themselves to the idea of abandoning their offspring.

A stock instance of the effect of removing children from institutions to families, with the result that the natural parents will lose sight of and title to them, is that of the Union Temporary Home in Philadelphia. After thirty-one years of work, it was decided to close the Home and put the children out to board. Out of 70 children, the parents

¹ The Department of Charities in New York City has employed the trained service of the C. O. S. for this purpose, and with the coöperation of charitable societies, relief for such families has been provided, thus avoiding the necessity of taking the child away.

of all but 9 were able to take good care of them themselves, and of the rest 3 found a way before final arrangements were made.¹ The diminution in the number of dependent children is especially large where the law provides that guardianship shall be vested in the State, or a board of children's guardians, in the cases of all children for whose support public money is given. At Washington, D.C., there were about 600 children in institutions receiving public money. A board of children's guardians was established under a law providing that the dependency of each child should be ascertained by a court, and the guardianship of a child then vested in the board of guardians. While the law as planned was not carried out, it became evident that, were it so carried out, there would not be more than 150 dependent children in the district.

The different results of the two methods of procedure in the matter of the legal relation between parents and the children who become dependent, is strikingly illustrated by the experience of Michigan and New York. Both awoke about the same time — 1874 — to the numbers of children in poorhouses and undertook to make other provision for them. Michigan established a State school for all dependent children from which they were to be placed in families. New York forbade the keeping of children in almshouses and provided that a dependent child should be committed if possible to an institution controlled by the same religious faith as that of its parents, at the expense of the county. In Michigan the parents were deprived of all responsibility and all legal rights in the child; in New York, the legal guardianship remained with the parents, if it had any. While guardianship has not been the only factor determining the increase of dependent children in these two States, it is highly significant that in 1904 Michigan had only 65.6 de-

¹ Riis, "Children of the Poor," pp. 282-285; Report New York State Board of Charities, 1889, p. 202.

pendent children to each 100,000 of her population, while New York had 317.3 per 100,000.

After the question of receiving children and their guardianship, the next most important matter is their classification. In the first place, those who are distinctly unsound in body or mind should be set apart. The sick must be remanded to hospital care or homes for incurables; cripples preferably to special institutions; and the feeble-minded and epileptic to institutions designed for them. But it is easier to say that classification is needed than to do the classifying. Every children's hospital has inmates that are well enough to be discharged, but within a month after discharge are likely to be sick enough to be readmitted. In making a personal investigation of 611 inmates in eleven institutions for children, I found 32 that had some marked mental defect or nervous disease, such as epilepsy or paralysis. Besides this, 92 of the children were markedly defective or diseased. Not many cripples were found, but many afflicted with severe forms of scrofula and other varieties of practically incurable blood-poisoning. That is, one out of six of these children was distinctly unwell, mentally or physically.¹

To classify further those adjudged healthy, is equally important and difficult. First are criminals, misdemeanants, and unmanageables, usually spoken of as "delinquents," for whom special treatment must be prescribed. They cannot be considered here, although their proper care is one of the most important problems in applied sociology.

After the delinquents, come the dependent children proper, made up of the neglected, abused, abandoned, and otherwise parentless, and the children of utterly destitute parents. It is not uncommon for simply destitute children to be sent to correctional institutions. The laws of many

¹ This, of course, does not include those children that were suffering from the ailments common to institution life, such as mild skin disease, sore eyes, etc.

States provide a definition for vagrancy that is broad enough to include almost any neglected child, and further provide that vagrants or children that wander about and beg from door to door may be sent to reform schools. Another elastic provision is that regarding "incorrigibles." If the parent sees fit to swear that the child is incorrigible, the court has very little option in many States, but must commit such child to the reform school. Mixed with the more depraved who properly belong to the school, the chances for these boys and girls to come to the best that they were capable of is not good. The classification at exactly this point—the separation of the depraved from the merely destitute—is an essential element in the wise handling of the neglected and destitute children of any State or locality.

In the classification of destitute children, it will be noticed that orphans and half-orphans, a distinction which is more commonly made, perhaps, than any other, have not been mentioned; and yet for purposes of care it has very little significance. The child that must be taken from its parents is parentless, and it is of very little significance so far as the child itself is concerned whether its parents are dead or not. The distinction between orphans and half-orphans, which is recognized by the laws of California and other States in providing money for private institutions, and which is usually recognized in the administration of private institutions, is simply a device by which the managers of an institution save themselves the trouble of examining into individual cases. The distinction is made because it is easy to make, and they feel that they must draw the line somewhere. It is, however, of comparatively little consequence for our present purposes, and can only be of use in studying causes of dependency among children.

What has been said regarding classification shows the great importance of the work of the children's aid societies and the societies for the protection of children from cruelty

and immorality. They are, or should be, specialists in exactly this work of classification. It is their business to understand the character of the children and the possibilities of the situation; and wherever their work is done with conscientious intelligence, the courts cannot do better than to take their advice in disposing of destitute or delinquent children. In many cases it may be found that institution life of any sort is unnecessary; and where it is necessary, the institution should be chosen with distinct reference to the individual child.

After the matters of reception, guardianship, and classification are disposed of, the final matter of importance is the method of providing for dependent children. Broadly speaking, there are two systems: the first is the institution plan, and the second is the plan of placing-out. On Dec. 31, 1904, there were remaining in institutions in the United States, 92,289 children; during the preceding year, 70,825 were admitted; the difference, 21,464, represents those returned to parents, old enough to be discharged, etc., but chiefly those placed out. In addition to these, there is a large number placed out in families, of which there is no record. Mr. Homer Folks estimates their number at not less than 50,000,¹ from which it may be concluded, roughly, that nearly two-thirds of all dependent children are at present in institutions and the remainder in families.

To build institutions for children has been the common and obvious thing to do in providing for them. The institution is preferred by parents, because they know where the child is, and can usually visit it, and frequently can retain the right to take it back again when they will. Institutions are also in favor with the benevolent, because the work done is so manifest. A hundred or more children, prepared for the occasion, make an attractive sight to the board of directors or to visitors. Buildings are obvious, and the money that

¹ "Care of Dependent Children," etc., p. 197, 1902.

goes into them takes a concrete form gratifying to the contributors. The churches prefer such life for the children dependent upon them, because the children can be so easily isolated from teachings other than their own. There is opportunity for catechetical instruction. In New York State all the institutions having more than five hundred children are of a distinctly religious character.¹ Closely connected with the religious motive, is the opportunity which an institution for children affords for a peculiarly attractive form of private endowment. All private benefactions, whether of the living or in memory of the dead, tend to take material rather than administrative form.

Between 1875 and 1903 children's institutions multiplied rapidly all over the country. In 1880 there were 613, in 1890, 698, and in 1903, 1075. Added to the motives for institutional care of children is, therefore, the possession of these plants and their equipment, and the inertia of the public which tends to be content with a benevolent work once established.²

On the whole, institutions are preferred by the children themselves, at least after they have been in them for some time. They do not feel at home outside of the sheltering walls, and shrink from the rough contact of ordinary life. In some institutions former inmates keep returning again and

¹ St. John's Home, Brooklyn	1261
St. Joseph's Female Orphan Asylum, Brooklyn	628
St. Malachy's Home, Brooklyn	741
St. Agatha Home for Children, Brooklyn	600
Hebrew Orphan Asylum, New York City	1009
Hebrew Sheltering Guardian Society, New York City	775
Institution of Mercy, New York City	706
Mission of the Immaculate Virgin, New York City	1607
Roman Catholic Orphan Asylum, New York City	783
St. Joseph's Asylum, New York City	814
St. Joseph's Home, Peekskill	1056

— Census, 1903-1904, "Benevolent Institutions," pp. 94 ff.

² Devine, "Principles of Relief," pp. 110-111.

again, either seeking work or begging to be taken back, because it is the life they are used to, and the only one for which they are fitted.

The institution, commending itself to these various parties in interest, has necessarily had an earlier and greater development than the placing-out system. Besides, there are many things to be said in its favor by those who have a really disinterested wish to benefit the dependents. The children receive many negative benefits. They are not cold, nor dirty, nor neglected, nor hungry, nor abused, — that is, if the management is good. The grosser forms of profanity and vice can be restrained; their attendance on school exercises is entirely regular, as are also their hours of sleep and eating.

But admitting these advantages, there is much to be said against institution life for children. The congregating of them together, which we found in the case of infants to result in high mortality, results in the case of older children in a low vitality. Even a small institution is different from a large family. In the latter, the children are of different ages; they have different opportunities for amusement—one initiates the other. Even in a small institution with only eight or ten children, they are apt to be of about the same age, none of them especially ambitious, and with their opportunities for self-education very limited. In the large caravansaries, where hundreds or even thousands of children are congregated, their non-development is very apparent. The fundamental fault is, perhaps, that life is made too easy. A child ought to have more opportunity of hurting himself, of getting dirty, of being insubordinate, than can possibly be accorded to him here. It is a pitiful sight to see a hundred children together, and none of them making a fuss. The discipline that would make a good soldier ruins a child—it is fatal to him to march in platoons, to play only at the word of command.

Of the effect of this, Mr. R. R. Reeder, Superintendent of the New York Orphan Asylum, says: —

“The first impression that institution children make upon a visitor is that of solidarity and dead levelism ; monotony and lack of individual initiation are shown in looks, manners, and evenness of behavior. . . . Until recently, many, perhaps most, institutions dressed their children in uniform. Now it is quite common to hear superintendents or managers say with pride, ‘We do not dress our children all alike,’ while entirely overlooking a deeper uniformity, a dead levelism of soul, of understanding, of occupation, that is vastly more significant and blighting in its effect than a mere shallow uniformity like that of dress. The latter is easily changed . . . but the uniformity that goes deeper than dress is liable to produce during the years of growth a soul structure so permanent as to mark the child throughout life as institution trained. He will never stand for much, nor alone, but always will be one of a crowd — a colorless life, shrivelled from youth.”¹

How is a child to learn to use matches if he lives in a building with steam heat and electric light? How will the child learn to cook in the ordinary home where nothing but great ranges are used for cooking? How learn to wash under ordinary circumstances where the laundry does the work for one or two hundred people? What experience can a boy have here that would qualify him to bring in wood? How learn to carry water where there is nothing to do but to turn the stop-cock? How will he learn to tell the time of day where everything moves at the stroke of a bell or the word of command? How obtain any appreciation whatever of the value of money when everything comes to him as if the world had been arranged to provide him with each thing that he needs and just as he needs? There is, in fact, no proper development of the child’s inventiveness or individuality, or even of his ambitions. A hundred institution children deluged with toys at Christmas enjoy them less, and feel less gratitude, than the children of the individ-

¹ *Charities*, vol. xi., 1903, pp. 149-150.

ual home who have learned to long for things, and learned to know in some sort what it costs to provide them.

Again, institution children are apt to lose wholly the practical economic training and the moral attitude toward life which children at home absorb unconsciously. Of this Mr. Reeder says:—

“ Unless special attention is given to it, children in an institution will hear little or no helpful conversation about domestic economy and management, social and religious customs and practice, the moral principles involved in concrete newspaper and neighborhood happenings. Left thus to themselves they never hear such expressions as ‘Potatoes are high; we can afford them only once a day,’ ‘Flour has gone down,’ ‘Butter is thirty-five cents a pound,’ ‘John’s shoes must last till next pay-day,’ ‘Mary’s dress will bear turning,’ etc. The most important part of the social and moral education of a child normally situated is the conversation, especially the table talk with parents. It is here that children get their views of life before starting out into the larger world they must enter. . . . I may add also just here that the most valuable part of the child’s industrial training is his coöperation with parents either by labor or by an economic use of their means in maintaining and promoting the interests of the home.”¹

The object of institution life for children should be precisely the same as that of the home and school—to prepare them for citizenship. Yet very few such institutions follow the subsequent careers of their wards to test their methods by their ultimate success or failure. It has often been observed that children who have been in an institution for some time cannot hold their own with those of the same age who come in from the slums; and that children reared in infant asylums are two or three years behind others in development.

A great part of the evils of institution life come from the mingling of individuals, none of whom have a very good heredity behind them, and some of whom have inherited weak constitutions and bad moral tendencies. . It is a con-

¹ *Charities*, vol. xi., 1903, p. 151.

tinual fight on the part of matrons to repress skin diseases and sore eyes; and these contagious diseases are but typical of the contagious vices which are not so obvious, but more to be dreaded. That institution life is partly faulty because of the low grade of children who are received, and who bring about degeneration in each other, is proved by the experience of institutions that have introduced an element of artificial selection, which separates the low from the more highly organized.

All that has been said so far refers to the institutionalism of the nineteenth century, which has recently been altering its form in notable instances. Several influences have been at work to check the excessive growth and the lax administration of institutions for children. The extravagant cost of some has drawn public attention to the fact that easy admission and indifferent management invite people to shirk a legitimate burden; and this in turn has led to more careful investigation and commitment. The natural feeling that a child ought to be in a family has produced several alternative methods, such as the cottage system and placing-out. Most important of all, institution methods have themselves been greatly modified and improved by the introduction of kindergarten work for the smaller children, and industrial training for the older ones. In many smaller orphanages and homes, the practice — first introduced by the Hebrew-Americans — of sending the children to the public schools has produced excellent results.

The earlier foundations for children, many of which have grown to considerable size, were nearly all in cities and towns. Perhaps the most promising development is at present the moving of these institutions to the country, where they have a large tract of land and where cottages instead of large dormitories are the prevailing system. The experiences of Mr. R. R. Reeder, in moving the New York Orphan Asylum from Manhattan to the country, were fully

described by him in a series of magazine articles which have probably had considerable influence in inducing the removal and the change to the household system in a number of other institutions.¹

Another modification of the strict institution plan has been the combination with it of some degree of placing-out in families. A very large number, perhaps the majority, of orphanages and children's homes are now, in theory at least, temporary refuges from which children are returned to family life. While many have not developed proper methods of placing-out, and do not provide for sufficiently careful or long-extended supervision, yet the tendency is both marked and encouraging. As a result of all these changes in the character and methods of institutions for children, a number of the most serious disadvantages are minimized if not entirely eliminated. To overcome the physical inferiority of dependent children, a better and more abundant diet is provided, and the coöperation of the child himself is enlisted to make of himself a fine animal. To develop and use the play instinct, playhouses, individual toys and amusements, space, freedom, and raw materials of play are provided. To inculcate honesty, thrift, and adaptability, industrial training is given, not of the factory type, but as Mr. Reeder denominates it, — "of the old-fashioned, home-making, sustaining, bread-winning kind." In the New York Orphan Asylum it includes housekeeping, cooking, sewing, dining-room service, chamber service, laundry work, manual training, gardening, poultry raising, and floriculture. Methods similar to those in the normal home have been devised for teaching children how to earn money, to save money, and how to spend money and give money wisely. The system of education employs as its basis the materials

¹ Articles in *Charities*, vols. xiii. to xvii. See indices under title, "To Country and Cottage." Instances of other institutions will be found in *Charities*, vol. xiv., p. 647; vol. xvii., pp. 291, 324.

and experience of the child outside the class room. In short, the aim is to supplant the mechanical, impersonal, and suppressive system with one founded upon the ideal of a normal home; one which offers "a rich, full, free, natural, individual life" and so prepares for life.¹

Over against the institution plan of caring for dependent children is the system of placing them in private families. There are two tolerably distinct forms of this work. In one, the children are sent to a great distance, and given but little subsequent supervision—that is, they are "emigrated"; in the other they are placed within easy reach of the agency having them in charge, and are systematically and constantly supervised.

From London a large number of children have been sent to the colonies. The emigration bureau, operating in connection with Dr. Barnardo's Homes in Canada, drops the child amid new surroundings, as carefully as may be convenient, and then keeps only so much track of him as is necessary to show contributors or others that a goodly proportion of cases turn out well. The child is simply given one more chance to sink or swim. It is found that foster parents are more readily obtained for children coming from a distance, probably because it is less likely that the natural parents will reclaim them.

Aside from the obvious difficulties attending the protection of children at such distance from the supervising society, there are more fundamental objections made to this form of placing-out. Professor Devine points out that it is an attempt to transfer the burden of dependency from the cities to agricultural communities. Several States have passed laws regulating the placing-out of children by foreign societies or non-residents. There is an increasing sentiment toward making each community carry its own economic and social burdens, and in this respect the board-

¹ Reeder, N. C. C., 1907, pp. 265-274.

ing-out is far more just than the placing-out system. Professor Devine further urges that all forms of placing-out ignore the need of high professional skill. The care of dependent children is manifestly more difficult than of children in normal family relations; and in the case of children who are physically weak or defective or morally perverted, the good institution may succeed better than any foster parents are likely to do.¹

In the United States the greatest agency for emigrating children to the West has been the Children's Aid Society of New York, founded by Charles L. Brace in 1853. Up to 1892 they had emigrated 84,318 children, of whom 51,427 were boys and 32,891 were girls. Some of these were not sent to a great distance, nearly 39,000 of them being placed in the State of New York, 4149 in New Jersey, etc. The Western States receiving the largest number were Illinois, to which 7366 were sent; Iowa, 4852; Missouri, 4835; Indiana, 3782; Kansas, 3310; Michigan, 2900; Minnesota, 2448.² The work of this society very well illustrates the advantages and the limitation of the emigration plan. The earliest groups were taken to these Western States at slight expense, given over to families without investigation, and scarcely supervised at all; many of the boys were over fourteen, and in consequence of these careless and unwise methods the results were unsatisfactory. As the cost of following up these children in such numbers would have been prohibitive, they were, for the most part, lost sight of, and severe criticism of the society followed.

Since about 1890 the society has pursued a policy of emigrating fewer children and supervising them more carefully. In 1906, 718 orphan or deserted children were

¹ Devine, "Principles of Relief," pp. 113 ff.

² "History of Child Saving," p. 30. See also pamphlet published by the Society, 1893, "The Children's Aid Society of New York, its History, Plan, and Results," and Hart, N. C. C., 1884, pp. 149-150.

placed out and 1889 younger children, established in homes in former years, were under the supervision of two officers and eleven agents, at a total cost of \$37,000.¹

The placing-out system, properly so called, — that is, the placing of children where they are easily accessible to the agency responsible for them, — has been practised for a long time by the officers of the Poor Law Unions of England and of American towns and counties. Children were simply kept in the almshouses until old enough so that somebody would take them. Mr. Folks, in writing of this system of disposing of pauper children, says that in the third quarter of the nineteenth century the almshouses and orphanages made more or less use of indenture, adoption, or placing-out; many children were bound out at twelve or fourteen years of age. There was no adequate inquiry into the circumstances of the persons receiving them, nor any system of subsequent oversight. This was, of course, placing-out at its worst.²

Placing-out in its later and more carefully guarded form has been carried to satisfactory results by such public institutions as the State Board of Charity in Massachusetts and the State School for Dependent Children at Coldwater, Michigan, and by such private associations as the Children's Aid Society of Massachusetts and the Children's Aid Society of Pennsylvania. With such agencies as these it is carried on by trained persons and with every precaution to guard the welfare of the child. There is ordinarily a central society, sometimes assisted by a county committee, which receives children from the overseers or directors of the poor or from others. Some societies keep the child a short time in a temporary home to study him and to prepare him for the family to which he is to be sent. Frequently they are placed in the county where they become

¹ Annual Report, 1906.

² "Care of Dependent Children," etc., pp. 64-65.

dependent; but when the children are particularly troublesome, or relatives interfere, or the family name is unfavorably known in the locality, the main office often removes the child to a distant part of the State or to an adjoining State. The work of the main office is conducted under the supervision of the managers by a corps of salaried officials. One assistant may give her whole time to the problem of homeless mothers with young children, providing for them service places to which they can take their children. Several expert workers are travelling almost constantly, investigating families who have applied for children, visiting children who have been placed out, or taking children to and from their homes.

Much attention is given to the elaboration of the details of administration, in order to throw about the work every possible safeguard. The investigation of a family is systematic and exhaustive, and is carefully recorded. The applicant fills out a blank containing many questions relating to the various phases of the family life, as church relations, distance from school, size of farm, occupation, number of members of family, with their ages, etc. A study of this return usually reveals the real motive of the application, and gives the data for an opinion as to the *material* fitness of the family. Their moral fitness is ascertained by sending a list of questions to several of the neighbors, stating that their replies are confidential, and that the appeal to them is not known to the applicant. A personal visit completes the investigation. After the child is placed out, his welfare is ascertained and protected by from one to five personal and unannounced visits each year, by a monthly report from the teacher of the public schools, and a quarterly report from the pastor. The agreement is perfectly flexible, and subject to change from year to year to suit the circumstances of each individual case.

Massachusetts and Michigan are the two States whose

public officials have done especially notable work in placing-out. In Massachusetts the system combines boarding-out and free placing-out, without any institutions except temporary homes for reception of children for a very short time, and two industrial institutions for older delinquents. The system is elaborately guarded, has a large complement of trained workers, and its results have been remarkable. A comparison of the numbers cared for at successive periods will show the growth and tendencies of the present system.

TABLE LX.

DISTRIBUTION OF STATE MINOR WARDS.*

	1866.	1890.	1900.
State Hospital	178	37	72
State Farm	65	...	...
State Primary School	466	336	...
Lyman School	332	185	299
State Industrial School	137	97	187
School Ship	259	...	...
Total	1437	655	558
In Families without Board	628	1046	1691
In Families with Board . . . . .	...	274	1493
Aggregate	2065	1975	3742
Percentage of Whole Number:			
In Institutions	70.	33.	15.
In Families without Board	30.	53.	45.
In Families with Board . . . . .	...	14.	40.

* Report State Board of Charity, 1901, p. 41; Folks, "Care of Dependent Children," etc., pp. 150 ff.

It will be seen from this digest that only 15 per cent of 3742 dependent children in Massachusetts are in institutions, 45 per cent in families without board, and 40 per cent in families with board. In general, where boarding-out is combined with free placing, as in Pennsylvania by the Chil-

dren's Aid Society and in Massachusetts by public officials, the children under twelve are first placed with payment of board. In a majority of cases they are kept in these homes free as they grow older, sometimes with payment of wages, but still under the constant supervision and protection of the authority which placed them.

Another successful form of placing-out by public officials is practised in Michigan. Its central idea is a State Public School, which is a part of the educational system of the State, under State supervision and support. It is neither penal nor reformatory, but simply provides a temporary educational home, where the child is prepared for placing in a family. The methods of placing and supervision are similar to those already described, and the results are shown statistically in a statement made by the superintendent in 1904.

Received since school opened, 1874	5471	
In families on indenture June 1, 1904	1210	
In families on trial	75	
Placed in families and residence unknown for over one year	30	
Total from whom reports are to be obtained	1315	
Remaining in institution June 1, 1904	171	
Total present wards of the school	1486	
Returned to counties by order of the board	675	
Died in families and in the school	197	
Adopted	603	
Have become of legal age	343	
Girls married	178	
Have been restored to parents	583	
Have become self-supporting	1406	
	5471	5471 *

* N. C. C., 1904, pp. 820 ff.

Mr. Folks has said that this system is the distinctively American contribution to public systems of child-saving work. It is extraordinarily economical, shows no signs of

unduly increasing the numbers of dependent children, and has the advantage of centralized State administration. The only serious objections urged against it are its liability to the influence of partisan politics and the fact that it checks the development of private charity in this direction. It does not appear from the history of Michigan and of the several States which have copied the system — particularly Minnesota and Wisconsin — that politics are more rife than in private institutions. As for private charity, there will remain enough channels for its development, and after all the restoration of the child to self-support and self-respect in the community is the test of the method.

An early form of child-care, which originated in the effort to take children out of almshouses, is the County Children's Home system, which arose in Ohio in 1866 and was copied in Indiana and Connecticut. About half the counties in Ohio maintain county homes, and more than 25,000 children have stayed in them an average of three years each. Originally it was intended that they should be placed out as soon as possible, but probably not more than one-third have been so provided for. No careful statistics of placing or supervision have been kept. On the whole, this method appears to have secured very few if any of the advantages of the cottage-institution or the placing-out features, and totally lacks the advantage of centralized administration.

The system of public support in private institutions will be discussed in the chapter on Subsidies. It is sufficient here to say that as heretofore practised — especially in California and New York — it is the most expensive, the least guarded, and, judged by the return of the children to self-support in the community, the least satisfactory of all. In New York it has recently been reformed so as to check its worst abuses, but it is distinctly "on trial" in the States where it prevails, and must be greatly modified if it is not to be superseded in the coming generation. The

Census of Benevolent Institutions in 1904 furnishes a crude measure of the results of the systems which have been discussed. Less than half the States have a definite system of public child-care, and eighteen have none at all.

TABLE LXI.

PUBLIC SYSTEMS OF CHILD-CARE.*

Children in Orphanages and Homes, per 100,000 of the Population,
Dec. 31, 1904.

SYSTEM.	NO. PER 100,000 OF POPULATION.	SYSTEM.	NO. PER 100,000 OF POPULATION.
Public Support in Private Institutions :		State School and Placing-out :	
New York . . .	317.3	Michigan . . .	65.6
California . . .	290.8	Minnesota . . .	62.4
Maryland . . .	172.5	Wisconsin . . .	57.2
District of Colum- bia	321.4	Rhode Island . .	161.4
County Homes :		Kansas	38.1
Ohio	175.1	Colorado	108.8
Indiana	110.1	Nebraska	36.8
Connecticut . .	188.1	Montana	114.7
Boarding and Placing-out :		Texas	31.0
Massachusetts .	129.0		
Pennsylvania .	153.6		
New Jersey . .	124.6		

* Systems from Folks, "Dependent Children," etc., 1902; figures from Census (1904), "Benevolent Institutions," p. 29. Illinois, Missouri, and Washington have a mixed system; Delaware, North Carolina, Maine, Oregon, and New Hampshire appropriate gross amounts, a method allied to public subsidy, and the remaining States have no system.

Since other factors besides the mere system help to determine the number of children dependent on public care, too much emphasis should not be laid on the contrasts in these

figures. But the general inference that the number of dependent children in proportion to the population is a measure of the success of the system is justified by the opinions of the foremost workers in this field. By this standard the system of placing in families, either from a State school or of boarding and placing from temporary shelters, gives the best results, and the public contract system the poorest.

In 1906 the Standing Committee on Children of the National Conference of Charities and Corrections formulated a "consensus of opinion" on this subject. The substantial agreement reached among those who have studied the child problem is stated briefly.¹

1. Every reasonable effort should be made to repair breaches and defects in the home before breaking up the family relation.

2. Institutional care of healthy, normal children for long periods is objectionable; it should be a temporary expedient, to afford training preparatory to family life or physical renovation through surgery, medicine, or diet, or to assist parents in temporary distress.

3. Institutional care for educational purposes is necessary for a portion of the deaf and blind, and for a portion of the delinquent children.

4. Permanent institutional care all through life is desirable for feeble-minded, epileptic, and certain crippled, deformed, or otherwise incurable children.

5. The selected family home of foster parents is the best substitute for the natural home; it may be used either as a boarding home, or a free home under close supervision, or as an adoptive home. It is universally agreed that the placing-out system demands the utmost care in selecting homes and constant oversight in order to prevent children from being neglected or abused.

6. There is a growing sentiment in favor of public super-

¹ A digest rather than a direct quotation.

vision of the placing-out work of private agencies, which has taken the form of law in New York, New Jersey, Michigan, Illinois, Wisconsin, Minnesota, and other States.

7. Small institutions are at a great disadvantage in placing children in families, owing to the expense and may do their work through reliable placing-out agencies.

On the whole, the placing-out system deserves the commendation it has received from the most advanced specialists. If administered "with an adequate supply of eternal vigilance," it is economical, kindly, and efficient. If badly administered, it leads to very obvious abuses; but at its best it is the best system.

It seems probable that the institutions which have been occupied in rearing all kinds of children will gradually be used for special classes of defectives and incapables, and as technical and industrial schools for older children. On the other hand, the "emigration" of children and the losing of them without responsibility, control, or protection, which characterized the earlier methods of placing out, will not be tolerated, but will be replaced by a system of strict accountability and expert agencies. Already in five cities there are bureaus of information where trained service can be had in the diagnosis of the case of any needy child, and the best information and advice for the asking.¹ In the conclusion of this chapter, attention should be called to the fact that it is less in child-caring than in child-saving work that really helpful results are to be found. Newsboys' lodging-houses, industrial schools, reading rooms, home libraries, settlement clubs, and the countless agencies for benefiting the street child, carried on by a variety of organizations, are doing the work of prevention.² The same is true of the societies for

• ¹ Report Philadelphia Society for Organizing Charity, 1907, p. 22; Pear, N. C. C., 1907.

² See especially reports of New York Children's Aid Society and Massachusetts Children's Aid Society.

the protection of children from cruelty and immorality; and, as we have already noted, specialist organizations should be called in to classify and assign to the proper child-caring agency the children that are to be dependent. It is to these classes of organizations also that we must look for help in the proper discharge of children from dependency; and it is especially to them that we look for a system of sociological bookkeeping that will enable us to tell with definiteness what is being accomplished, — how the children “turn out.” There is no better fund of raw material for sociological study than the records of the children’s aid societies and other advanced child-caring agencies of the United States.

CHAPTER X.

THE DESTITUTE SICK.

WITHIN the past thirty years the hospitals of the country have had a very rapid development, coming in part from the influx of foreign population accustomed to seek hospital service, in part from the increasing density of population, but very largely, without doubt, from the increased efficiency of the hospitals. Formerly a hospital was regarded as a place that every one should stay away from if he could. It was a place where the shattered wrecks of armies must be taken, where the homeless stranger must seek refuge if overtaken by sickness, and where the abjectly destitute must necessarily be cared for. But of late the improvements in medical art, and especially in surgical processes, have enabled hospitals to render better service than can be given even in the homes of the well-to-do; and, as a consequence, there has been a greatly increased demand for accommodations for pay patients, and with the growth of every hospital has come also the growth of free wards. The increase in the number of free beds and the increase in efficiency have rendered the poorer classes less disinclined to seek refuge in the hospital, and especially to resort for free consultation and medicine to the dispensaries.

Table LXII. (p. 298), from the Federal Census of 1904, gives a summary of the hospitals of a distinctly benevolent character and of the proportion of persons admitted during the year, per 100,000 of population. Since all institutions conducted for private profit have been omitted, the table does not by any means indicate the full extent of existing hospital facilities.

TABLE LXII.
HOSPITALS IN THE UNITED STATES.*

STATE OR TERRITORY.	NUMBER OF INSTITUTIONS.	NUMBER OF PATIENTS		NUMBER OF PATIENTS PER 100,000 OF POPULATION	
		Admitted during 1904.	Remain- ing Dec. 31, 1904.	Admitted dur- ing 1904.	On Dec. 31, 1904.
United States . . .	1,498	1,064,512	71,580	1,809.8	87.8
Alabama	9	4,591	911	284.5	10.7
Arizona	10	2,227	158	1,600.9	118.8
Arkansas	12	8,124	257	225.8	18.4
California	59	48,506	2,807	2,029.8	180.0
Colorado	29	13,140	1,176	2,222.1	126.8
Connecticut	21	17,700	759	1,816.9	77.2
Delaware	8	988	58	516.8	27.1
District of Columbia	18	15,589	717	5,222.8	258.8
Florida	17	1,786	176	205.5	29.8
Georgia	17	7,888	286	809.8	14.1
Idaho	6	1,494	111	779.5	56.8
Illinois	106	85,601	5,244	1,637.4	101.2
Indian Territory	2	905	37	189.1	7.6
Indiana	21	11,126	618	420.4	20.5
Iowa	41	12,965	876	592.0	24.8
Kansas	23	9,186	565	614.1	27.9
Kentucky	29	11,209	878	494.9	26.5
Louisiana	19	19,912	1,042	1,837.2	69.4
Maine	12	6,274	405	886.0	57.1
Maryland	22	23,435	1,621	1,878.5	129.2
Massachusetts	28	78,485	4,450	2,420.0	145.2
Michigan	59	21,784	1,269	600.9	49.8
Minnesota	44	22,638	1,499	1,171.8	71.1
Mississippi	6	2,872	152	143.1	9.1
Missouri	65	50,014	2,946	1,524.8	89.9
Montana	16	5,270	460	1,833.5	159.0
Nebraska	17	6,468	426	606.8	29.9
Nevada	1	1,792	228	690.2	58.5
New Hampshire	19	2,792	228	690.2	58.5
New Jersey	48	25,245	2,872	1,858.9	118.8
New Mexico	11	2,177	685	1,088.6	324.1
New York	194	246,520	15,669	2,166.8	199.6
North Carolina	21	4,110	227	204.8	11.2
North Dakota	8	2,086	117	540.1	81.0
Ohio	74	51,997	2,071	1,198.6	126.1
Oklahoma	1	(a)	(a)	(a)	(a)
Oregon	6	5,945	365	1,318.8	79.8
Pennsylvania	145	124,007	11,261	1,648.0	166.1
Rhode Island	9	9,249	462	1,999.9	99.0
South Carolina	8	1,211	120	65.4	8.4
South Dakota	8	1,889	98	394.4	21.1
Tennessee	18	10,628	449	500.4	21.0
Texas	21	22,256	622	661.8	24.1
Utah	7	8,369	172	1,106.1	56.0
Vermont	9	2,990	140	826.6	49.1
Virginia	19	18,388	536	720.2	27.6
Washington	28	18,110	995	2,245.7	169.6
West Virginia	20	6,216	269	563.4	85.2
Wisconsin	21	19,718	1,228	967.9	54.6
Wyoming	5	991	66	945.9	62.1

* Census, "Benevolent Institutions," 1904, p. 22. (a) Not reported.

It would be misleading to draw conclusions from the mere numbers of hospitals and hospital inmates as here presented, since one particular institution may do better work than several smaller ones in a given community, or *vice versa*. The variations as between States point to the greater needs of urban districts on the one hand and, on the other, to the different degrees of charitable development. It is evident that in many instances hospital facilities are not proportioned to the needs of the locality. In a very general way, the fact that, of two States very similar as to general conditions, one shows a ratio of admissions twice as large as the other, may be taken in most cases to mean that in the one, hospital facilities are proportionately more ample.

Table LXIII. (p. 300) shows the proportion of the cost of maintenance borne by public taxation, by private charity, and by pay patients.

It is apparent that the burden of support is distributed very unequally. Six States,—New York, Pennsylvania, Massachusetts, Illinois, California, and Ohio,—containing about 35 per cent of the total population of the country, contribute over eighteen million dollars, or about two-thirds of the cost; twenty-one other States, containing about the same percentage of population, spend only six millions.¹ Five States,—Missouri, New Jersey, Maryland, Minnesota, and Michigan,—comprising 13.6 per cent of population, pay 13.5 per cent of the cost of hospitals; while the remaining 17 States, containing 15.5 per cent of the population, pay only 3.5 per cent of this public burden.

The total amount received by hospitals from public subsidies constituted 18 per cent on the average of the cost of maintenance. The commonwealths granting subsidies of

¹ Connecticut, Colorado, Wisconsin, Texas, Iowa, Montana, Washington, District of Columbia, New Mexico, Louisiana, Indiana, Kentucky, Rhode Island, Maine, Kansas, Nebraska, Virginia, Georgia, Tennessee, West Virginia, New Hampshire.

TABLE LXIII.
HOSPITALS: COST AND SOURCES OF MAINTENANCE, 1903.*

STATE OR TERRITORY.	COST OF MAINTENANCE, 1903.	ANNUAL SUB- SIDIES FROM PUBLIC FUNDS, 1903, PER CENT OF COST OF MAINTENANCE.	INCOME FROM PAY PATIENTS, 1903, PER CENT OF COST OF MAINTENANCE.
United States	\$28,200,569	18.1	48.2
Alabama	70,708	17.8	42.7
Arizona	90,486	12.4	25.3
Arkansas	52,670	3.9	49.3
California	1,450,123	0.0	56.0
Colorado	459,970	0.8	43.1
Connecticut	464,087	20.1	44.2
Delaware	28,484	1.8	36.4
District of Columbia	291,222	23.4	34.9
Florida	60,818	2.0	27.4
Georgia	102,017	22.8	39.5
Idaho	33,207	...	64.8
Illinois	2,165,847	1.1	68.0
Indian Territory	14,547	...	94.1
Indiana	335,821	2.0	67.9
Iowa	343,958	2.1	78.7
Kansas	164,867	2.5	54.3
Kentucky	238,487	4.7	88.7
Louisiana	260,845	8.9	26.1
Maine	281,540	14.2	54.7
Maryland	719,921	17.5	...
Massachusetts	2,702,646	2.7	86.0
Michigan	624,243	2.0	78.3
Minnesota	638,076	0.5	74.7
Mississippi	81,872	10.8	19.0
Missouri	919,655	0.9	60.0
Montana	800,859	2.3	46.9
Nebraska	175,078	1.0	69.3
Nevada . . . . .	...	...	...
New Hampshire	116,207	7.4	69.6
New Jersey	801,529	12.4	82.3
New Mexico	269,661	3.3	26.1
New York	6,732,968	10.6	29.0
North Carolina	94,911	24.5	40.5
North Dakota	48,154	...	98.5
Ohio	1,428,245	1.9	41.6
Oklahoma	4,105	...	82.9
Oregon	72,038	1.4	109.7
Pennsylvania	3,637,671	20.0	26.9
Rhode Island	234,044	16.4	25.6
South Carolina	54,349	1.8	68.1
South Dakota	54,313	0.9	79.9
Tennessee	150,073	...	62.1
Texas	852,416	2.6	60.4
Utah	76,026	...	116.3
Vermont	68,914	7.7	60.0
Virginia	174,921	5.5	63.2
Washington	299,480	3.3	75.7
West Virginia	180,761	4.6	51.7
Wisconsin	302,539	0.6	77.6
Wyoming	27,049	1.3	79.2

* Census, "Benevolent Institutions," 1904, pp. 25-26.

more than 18 per cent were the District of Columbia (33.4), North Carolina (24.5), Georgia (22.3), Connecticut and Pennsylvania (each 20.0). The total amount received from pay patients constituted 43.2 per cent of the cost of maintenance. In 24 States, including some doing the largest hospital work, as New York, Pennsylvania, Massachusetts, Ohio, etc., such income was less than half the total cost of maintenance; in 19 others it constituted from 50 to 80 per cent; in Indian Territory, Nebraska, North Dakota, and Oklahoma it was from 82 to 94 per cent; and in Utah and Oregon the income actually exceeded the cost, the percentages being 116.2 and 109.7.¹

Mr. John Koren, the expert census agent, remarks that there is an apparent contradiction in describing hospitals as benevolent institutions when the amount of money they receive from pay patients is equal to or in excess of the cost of maintenance; but he points out that to a very large extent the moneys termed income do not represent the personal contributions of the patients or their relatives and friends, but the amounts collected from the public authorities legally responsible for their support. Furthermore, the cost of maintenance as given does not include improvements or general equipment, nor the services of many physicians and attendants, nor the endowments which may have been the means of the original foundation, which, taken together, would constitute a large item properly termed benevolent.

The Special Census Report does not state how many of the inmates of hospitals were indigents, and it would be a task of great difficulty to find out how many of the beds were really free to those filling them. There are those who believe that eventually hospital service will be free to all

¹ Table LXII. and Table LXIII. are condensed from those in the Special Census Report on "Benevolent Institutions," 1904, and the conclusions are a brief digest of Mr. Koren's comments.

willing to accept of it at public expense, just as for the insane, hospital service or asylum care is now free to all willing to accept of it in some States; or as education, including support, is free in many States to all defectives.

American hospitals are so careless in making up their reports that it is frequently impossible to glean the facts important in estimating their efficiency. The expenditures per patient in a hospital are usually large for the small institutions, and relatively small for the large institutions; but normally depend chiefly upon the character of the cases treated, and especially whether the cases are chronic or acute. It is therefore desirable that the following items should find a place in the reports of a given hospital: —

1. The average daily number of patients, or the total number of days' service rendered during the year. Many hospital reports give the number of patients treated, but no data to determine the average daily number of patients.

2. The number of different patients treated during the year.

3. The longest time any one patient has remained in the institution, and how many, if any, have been there during the whole year. Also, the average length of time patients remain. This is to indicate whether the hospital is serving chronic or acute cases, an item of great importance in estimating the proper cost.

4. The ratio of deaths to the whole number disposed of. The death-rate is a thing about which competing institutions wrangle a great deal. The ratio is frequently given to the whole number of patients, which is not as fair as the method just indicated. It is sometimes given to the number of days' service rendered, which is meaningless, because many of the cases may be chronic. But even when the death-rate is given as suggested above, it may or may not indicate good management of the hospital. Its significance is still ambiguous, for it may be kept down by refusing to receive all

cases where the prognosis is death.¹ This policy, except possibly in certain special institutions, is condemnable, because hospitals for the poor should be among other things comfortable places for people to die in. The refusal of doctors to perform operations that are dangerous, but are yet in the interests of the patients, may also keep down the death-rate, but does not indicate efficiency.

In a broad way the per capita cost of hospital service should indicate the degree of efficiency; but political interference, in city and county hospitals especially, and wasteful methods on the part of the management and the medical staff, often result in high cost without corresponding improvement of the service. In the United States, in 1903, the highest cost per capita was \$2.25 at Johns Hopkins; other hospitals having 200 or more beds ranged from \$2.18 to \$1.68, and those having less than 200 beds, from \$1.90 to \$1.24. The cost has been rapidly increasing in recent years, owing to a general increase in the cost of living, to improved methods of treatment, higher standards of care, and better wages for nurses. According to Professor Henderson, the cost of hospital service has nearly doubled since 1871.²

The primary motive operating to produce a multitude of medical charities is sympathy with the poor to whom sickness brings the menace of pauperism. But this elementary emotion is reënforced by a number of subsidiary and more selfish motives. Medical institutions usually serve a purpose in the education of medical students and young physicians, and almost invariably a purpose in building up the reputation of the physicians and surgeons in charge of them.

¹ Lord Cathcart remarks that moribund cases stand a doubtful chance, or no chance, of being taken to the great voluntary hospitals of London. "Hospitals," p. 13.

² Burdett, "Hospitals," etc., p. 161; Henderson, "Modern Methods of Charity," pp. 454-455.

There are cases, indeed, where the gratuitous treatment of all applicants has in it no element of charity, the clinic being worth more to the school than it costs. Advertisements are frequently kept in the dailies of a large city, announcing free dentistry to all who care to receive it. The person responding to such an advertisement will be attended to by a student with more or less skill, under the guidance of the professor in a school of dentistry; and the opportunity of educating the student is fully equivalent to the services rendered. A lecturer or manager of a clinic of a medical school sometimes pays a patient for the privilege of showing some operation or disease to the class. This is not only free treatment, but pay is given for the privilege of treating.

Religious sentiment has played a considerable part in all ages in the establishment of medical charities. In the United States, of all hospitals under private management, about one-third are under church control. Sometimes only applicants of a particular faith are admitted; again the medical charity has been maintained in order to propagate the faith. It has been said that Peter Parker, in opening the first hospital in China, opened China to the influences of modern civilization at the point of a lancet. In modern times, what might be termed the economic motive has actuated the establishment of such charities in order to restore the poor to self-support and to protect the public health.¹

Not less than four strong motives, therefore, contribute to the development of medical charities,—the desire to aid the destitute, to proselyte for some religious faith, to educate students and build up medical reputations, and to protect the public health. The latter has often been the leading cause of public appropriations for medical charities. A few hospitals decline to admit students to their advantages; but the uniform testimony of medical experts seems

¹ On motives, etc., see Dr. Stephen Smith, *Charities Review*, vol. viii., 1898, pp. 9 ff.

to be that the teaching hospitals render better service than the non-teaching institutions.

As the result of these powerful incentives, medical charities are inevitably popular and tend to be prodigal and indiscriminate. Dr. Stephen Smith said in 1898 that there were in New York 5000 vacant beds in the institutions for children. He showed that for more than half a century the medical charities of New York City had treated about 16 per cent of the population as sick poor, but that in 1898 gratuitous medical relief was given to 45 per cent of the population, — an amount far beyond the requirements of the needy class. Those institutions established for the purpose of teaching medicine or of propagating a religious doctrine naturally do not make any systematic inquiry into the financial condition of the applicants, and as a consequence medical charity is more lavishly and indiscriminately given than other forms of relief, and with the result that free medical aid is often the beginning of pauperism.¹

English experience in this matter is very instructive. The *Medical Times* has said:—

“The amount of gratuitous work done by the profession in no way raises it in public estimation. It is well known that it is not performed from motives of charity, but for the position that is gained by being attached to a hospital staff, and the hope of a good practice accruing therefrom.”

The *British Medical Journal* asserted that hospitals competed with each other as to the number of patients, without regard to the fitness of the cases or the position of the applicants. In the Children's Hospital of London, when the rule was adopted of referring all applicants to the Charity Organization Society, and where no patients were excluded provided that the parents were making less than 30 shillings a week, there was found an abuse rate of 57 per cent.²

¹ N. C. C., 1898, pp. 320 ff.; see also Dr. J. J. Nutt in *Charities*, vol. xiv., 1900, pp. 752 ff.

² Rentoul, “Voluntary Medical Charities.”

In the United States the qualification for admission to a hospital as such is disease; for admission to a free bed, there should be the additional qualification of destitution; but this latter point is usually not insisted upon. The competition of medical schools, and of individual institutions, is usually so great that no one willing to put up with the inconvenience, and to take the risks of free hospital treatment, is refused. People enter hospitals as pay patients only if they wish some special advantages or privileges. That people are admitted to free beds without investigation is especially true in those places where the private institutions admit patients for whom the municipality or county pays the bills. This is the system in vogue in large cities where the subsidy system obtains.

In some cities it is required that any one admitted to a free bed at the expense of the State must secure a permit either from the Health Department or the poor-law officers. An agent of the Health Department goes through the hospital wards weekly or semi-monthly, to see what patients paid for by the public can be properly discharged, or if chronic cases can properly be remanded to the almshouse. The city or the county pays a certain rate per week for the care of patients which it sends to the various hospitals.

Two general types of hospital have been evolved in America: the municipal, developed from the wards of almshouses, and the corporate, governed by an unsalaried board of prominent citizens.¹ The municipal hospital has, as a rule, retained the low standards set by its origin and is especially liable to the evils of political management, such as were formerly illustrated in the Bellevue Hospital, New York, Cook County Hospital, Illinois, and very recently in the City and County Hospital of San Francisco. The Corporate Hospital, while reaping all the advantages of disinterested management and an eminent medical staff,

¹ "Efficient Democracy," pp. 90 ff.

suffers from what Mr. William Allen calls "the goodness fallacy," — the fallacy that estimable gentlemen of wealth and affairs are necessarily competent to run a highly complex and technical philanthropy.¹ Miss Maud Banfield, in discussing hospital administration, complains that both physicians and trustees think they know all about the business without learning, and that as a consequence, money is wasted and the patients suffer, and, in short, that no large undertaking is conducted with so little inspection.²

The discussion of this and other serious defects of hospital management was precipitated in New York City by the increasing deficits of all the more conspicuous institutions. Mr. Frank Tucker, in a study of the city hospitals in 1902, stated that the deficits of twenty hospitals aggregated \$750,000 annually; that work was being curtailed, and the poor were suffering. Charges of extravagance followed and were not answered by the hospitals. At a public meeting in 1905, a committee was appointed to consider the subject of hospital needs and finances, and made its final report in 1906.³ They recommended a system of uniform accounting, to follow an intelligent classification of the various hospitals, so that only the institutions which were fairly comparable should be classed together. Meanwhile, four of the largest general hospitals of the city had perfected a uniform system of accounting which the Committee recommended should be the basis of a system for all hospitals of their class. The Committee urged further that an annual digest of all hospital reports be published. The Subcommittee on Economics submitted specific recommendations as to waste and means of avoiding it, and the whole report closed with the following statement: —

¹ Hurd, "Hospitals," etc.; *Charities Review*, vol. x., 1900, pp. 325 ff.

² *Charities*, etc., 1906, vol. xvi., p. 287, pp. 351 ff.

³ *Am. Jour. of Soc.*, vol. xx., 1902, pp. 328.

"They must not only know themselves what every item of service costs; but they must show the public that they know, and they must enable the public also to know. It is the judgment of this Committee that the hospitals themselves have it in their power, by moving along this line, to tap sources of popular support that will be adequate to any need. The value of uniform accounting, between hospitals of the same class, for such a purpose, is, that it enables the friends of every hospital to know not only when it is doing poorly, which ought to be only a temporary condition, but also when it is doing well, which ought to be the normal condition of every institution that aims to serve the public."

Aside from the question of support, the matters of most importance in hospital administration are the character of the control and superintendence, and the relation of the hospitals to the subscribing public. Whether hospitals should be governed solely by trained medical men or by laymen of business training has been much discussed; at the present time both opinion and practice lean toward lay control.¹ As to the qualifications of a hospital superintendent, it is of far more importance that he should be a skilled administrator, with ample training, than that he should be a physician. Too frequently the position is filled by some one who "just happens along" and who has been trained neither in medicine nor affairs. The general tendency toward the inspection of private as well as public charities is plainly growing in the case of medical charity. Unquestionably, institutions receiving public subscriptions should be subject to visitation and supervision by State or municipal authority. Even in the case of private hospitals not soliciting subscriptions, they should be either licensed or supervised. Finally, the situation evidently demands some check on the multiplication of new hospitals in lines not required, and the diversion of charitable impulse into channels where there is greater need.²

¹ Burdett, "Hospitals," etc., 1901, p. 69; *Phila. Med. Jour.*, 1902, April 5; Banfield, *Am. Jour. of Soc.*, vol. xx., 1902, p. 33.

² As, for instance, sanatoria for incipient tuberculosis and for convalescents.

The dispensary is the most efficient engine of hospital extension; and therefore, where we have competing institutions, it is a department that develops first and fastest. In 1900 Dr. Hurd estimated the number of independent dispensaries at 225, and those connected with hospitals and medical schools at 250.¹ The Special Census, taken in 1904, however, gives only 156 independent charitable dispensaries, of which two-thirds were found in California, Illinois, Maryland, Massachusetts, New York, and Pennsylvania. Only 11 were maintained at public cost, 17 by churches, and the remainder were under private control. In the 123 dispensaries reporting the number of patients, 1,611,651 persons were treated, — an average for the whole country of 1982.3 per 100,000 of the whole population. The system has reached its extreme development in New York City, where the ratio of treatment is 10,848.5 per 100,000.²

Wherever a considerable number of dispensary cases are investigated to ascertain whether or not the patients are destitute, a tolerably high abuse rate is found. Some of these, as ascertained in England, have already been given. Dr. Savage gives the following account of certain investigations in New York City: —

“ In the most attractive dispensary of the city, possessing an elegant building, a complete equipment, and high-grade physicians, the patients are largely of a class one might judge able to compensate a physician. The Charity Organization investigated 1500 cases selected out of 85,000 applicants. The answer was that about one-fourth were able to pay, another fourth had given a wrong address (possibly from an aversion to its being known that they had applied for dispensary aid, or because they resided out of the city), and the remaining half were recommended as worthy of medical charity by reason of poverty.”³

This is a matter on which physicians differ widely, but charity experts usually consider that this free medical service

¹ *Charities Review*, vol. x., 1900, p. 410.

² “ Benevolent Institutions,” pp. 36-39.

³ Billings and Hurd, “ Hospitals,” etc., note, p. 644, 1893.

has a very bad effect upon the applicants. The Charity Organization Society of London has waged a long fight against it. The Charity Organization Societies of the United States have investigated cases whenever referred to them; but many hospitals do not want the cases investigated, — they are glad to take all that come. Sir Morell Mackenzie gave it as his opinion that the out-patient department of a great hospital was the greatest pauperizing agency existing in England; while Lord Cathcart, who served on the Lords' Committee on Hospitals, thought the effect not nearly as bad as supposed, and that the matter had better be left to limit itself. "The out-patient department, however well managed," he said, "is a social test in itself, — the crowds, long waits, unpleasant neighbors, crying and irritable children. There is also some little risk of looking in with one complaint and coming out with another."

To check the abuse of dispensary aid, the New York Dispensary Law was passed in 1898. It provides that all dispensaries shall be licensed by the State Board of Charities, which has power to inspect and revoke licenses; patients are obliged to sign a statement that they cannot pay, and a false statement is a misdemeanor. The law appears to have had a wholesome effect in limiting the number of dispensaries to those for which need existed, in creating a system of uniform records, and in raising the standard of service; but it does not appear that it has had the effect of limiting the service to the class for which it is primarily intended, that is, to the sick poor.¹ By law the dispensaries are required to investigate only those applicants whose dress or speech indicate that they could pay.

At the Massachusetts General Hospital an officer is charged with the duty of visiting suspected persons at their homes to ascertain the exact need of the family. In other dispensaries, such investigations are made by the Charity

¹ *Charities*, vol. xv., 1905, p. 109.

Organization Society.¹ Besides the abuse by persons able to pay, there is often careless treatment on the part of young and incompetent physicians in the crowded dispensaries, as well as a loss of practice to regular practitioners.

A majority of dispensaries now charge a small fee for medicines and for surgical dressings to those who are able to pay it; and it is believed the patients value what they receive and are therefore more likely to benefit from it, than when it is wholly gratuitous. There is much to be said in favor of confining free medical aid to teaching institutions where the patient gives as well as receives something; and the tendency appears to be to put medical relief on the same basis as other material aid. But the cure of these abuses can only be carried out with the coöperation of the attending physicians themselves.

In England, provident dispensaries have been organized to a considerable extent, at which, in consideration of the deposit of a weekly or monthly sum, medical attendance and medicine are provided. There has not been very much done in the line of provident dispensaries in this country; but the various mutual benevolent orders, and the relief associations of the railroads and some other corporations, provide medical attendance upon the payment of stated contributions per month. There is a considerable class of those who are poor but not pauper, patients who cannot afford either the expense or the time to go to a hospital, and often do not need to do so, and who are not able to pay a fairly good physician. Young physicians cannot afford, on the other hand, to give the necessary medicines, bandages, etc. For this most important class dispensaries and home nursing afford practicable relief.

American municipalities vary widely in the public provision which they make for sending medical relief to the

¹ Hurd, "Dispensaries," *Charities Review*, vol. x., 1900, p. 410.

destitute sick in their own homes. In some cities there are ward physicians, or district physicians, or, as they are usually called by the beneficiaries, "poor-doctors," who are paid from \$10 to \$50 per month to respond to all calls for gratuitous treatment. These positions are eagerly sought after by certain junior members of the medical profession, and apparently would be if no salary were paid at all. In cities like New York, where there are no public physicians to the poor, the gap is filled by private benevolence, the large dispensaries, and the gratuitous services of the medical profession.

Nursing as a form of medical and charitable service existed before many of the other branches of these arts. Within the last two or three decades it has had a new access of usefulness through the advances in medicine and surgery, and from the knowledge that has been obtained of the sources of disease and the methods of antiseptic and aseptic treatment, as well as in consequence of the cultivation of nursing as a specialty. More than one-half of the hospitals reporting in the Federal Census of 1904 conduct training schools for nurses, and employ a total of 21,844 nurses in the care of patients.

There are substantially three types of hospitals as far as regards nursing: first, those with paid or "professional" nurses; second, those where the nursing is done by pupils under trained supervision; and third, those where the nursing is done by members of the religious orders. In certain hospitals, usually those under public management, the nursing is done by persons who are paid a small amount and keep their positions from year to year, or as long as politics allow. This, on the whole, is a cheap form of getting the service; but the class of persons that will work at this occupation continuously for a small salary is distinctly poor; and a hospital relying upon this system drifts into the policy of employing inmates to do the nursing. The nursing in an almshouse hospital is usually of this

kind, more or less capable inmates being paid small amounts to assume the responsibility and work of nurses.

The second method of securing the necessary service is by pupil nurses, serving a novitiate of two or three years, and receiving only enough to support them. The nurses may come in from an outside training school, or the training school may be a branch of the hospital administration. In either case, the special work of nursing must be under one experienced person, who has full control of the personnel of the nursing force, and is distinctly responsible for this branch of the work. The system of pupil nursing secures a much higher grade of applicants for positions; and while the necessity of continually dealing with new nurses causes the medical officials to grumble from time to time, yet most efficient service can be got by this method if there is a sufficient force of trained head nurses.

So far as some of our large public hospitals are concerned, the greatest blessing that has come from the introduction of training-school nurses has been in the reaction upon the general administration of the institutions. Bellevue Hospital in New York City is the most conspicuous example of such a reaction. During the year 1870 there were in the hospital 1071 deaths, or 12.2 per cent of all patients treated. In this 1071 deaths, there were 69 cases of hospital poisons, or 6.44 per cent. In 1871, out of 376 confinements, there were 33 deaths from puerperal fever, or 8.7 per cent of all women confined. During the spring of 1874, puerperal fever at Bellevue Hospital became epidemic, and reached the height of nearly two deaths out of every five women delivered.¹ In addition to the number of patients dying from hospital poisons, there was also a large number of cases of gangrene, erysipelas, exhaustion, etc., to which hospital poisons may have been tributary. The nursing was done

¹ Third Annual Report of New York State Charities Aid Association, p. 23.

largely by persons sent from the poorhouse or the house of correction. The establishment of a training school in 1873 and the introduction of trained and pupil nurses, although not the only force operating for reform, was a powerful one. From the reformed institution have gone out, and go out annually, women trained to the work of nursing, many of whom are called to be head nurses and superintendents in other institutions.

In the third class of hospitals the nursing is done by members of the religious orders. Such institutions are usually owned by the orders themselves, and the Sister Superior is at the head of the administration. They are frequently subsidized by the municipalities; but it is rare with us, though common in Europe, for a religious order to be given charge of the nursing in a public institution.

Physicians and surgeons, according to individual experience, vary in their estimates of the relative efficiency of Sisters or other women as nurses. Some of the orders take great pains in the training of their novices. It will be interesting to see, as time goes on, whether persons of sufficient intelligence and education to make the best modern nurses will continue to enter the religious orders; and, on the other hand, whether "cash payment" and simple devotion to duty will give the entire reliability which is needed in the nurse at all times and places.¹

Standing between the religious orders of the Catholic Church and the paid nurses of the training school are the orders of deaconesses of the Protestant denominations. Their work is particularly for the poor. In this country these orders have not as yet taken up hospital work to any notable extent. They differ from the Catholic orders in that the vows are taken for only a limited period of years,

¹ For an account of the training of male and female nurses in the Catholic orders, see Billings, "Hospitals," pp. 473-477. Dr. Köllen thinks the religious orders make unrivalled nurses.

and they may retain the title to private property, and do not cut themselves off from their relatives.

The latest development in nursing work for the poor is "district nursing," which is simply the gratuitous nursing of the sick poor in their homes. Such care of the poor has long been given by the Sisters of Charity and the Sœurs de Bon Secours of the Catholic Church, who have attended to it with devotion and unparalleled personal sympathy. In the United States, salaried trained nurses to the poor were first employed by the Woman's Branch of the New York City Mission and Tract Society in 1877. The district nurse ordinarily receives a monthly salary. She passes from home to home, doing what is necessary for the sick; and the influence of her example of cleanliness, order, and wise doing is frequently contagious.

The following summary shows the growth of visiting nursing work from 1877 to 1906:—

Associations in the United States	220
Localities having nursing associations	148
Total number of nurses	537

District nursing is constantly finding new differentiations. There are nurses' settlements, such as the Henry Street Settlement in New York, from which 48,235 visits were made in 1905; a staff of 50 nurses in 1905 examined 1,351,083 school children, visited 40,070 tenements, and 25,943 schools in New York. The first municipal nurse was employed in Los Angeles, California, in 1898, to visit among the sick poor. The New York Health Department in its campaign against tuberculosis, was employing in 1906 nineteen nurses to visit consumptives. In Baltimore, the Johns Hopkins Nurses Alumnæ Association furnishes hourly nursing at a reasonable price; the Crerar fund, in the hands of the Illinois Training School for Nurses, affords nursing in families able to pay a part but not all the charges of a nurse.

Recently several large industrial establishments and many department stores have employed one or more nurses to look after their employees at work and in their homes. One of the most recent and useful developments of this kind of work is rural nursing, such as that afforded by the Country Settlement near Concord, New Hampshire.¹

This latest phase of medical charity illustrates the sacrifice of the capable to the incapable, not merely for the care of the sick and needy, but for the purpose of educating the ignorant in hygiene and sanitation. The preventive and educational aspects of visiting nursing are so important that these highly trained women should not be permitted to make too great a personal sacrifice. Nurses, especially pupil and paid nurses, are frequently overworked, and the members of religious orders also break down at an early age. The death-rate among all classes of nurses is very high. It should be seen to by those in authority that strong, capable women are not killed off gratuitously by overwork which could be avoided. The conditions of their lives must be as health-giving and as health-preserving as possible; and whether they are members of a religious order or the salaried servants of a society, they must have opportunities of recruiting their strength, and so of preserving their usefulness. Aside from the development of certain lines of technical medical care required for special classes of the destitute sick, the enlargement of the field of visiting nursing is unquestionably the most promising aspect of medical charities, combining as it does a highly necessary form of relief with rare opportunities for social alleviation and uplifting.

¹ For various recent aspects of district nursing, see special number of *Charities*, etc., vol. xvi., 1906, No. 1.

CHAPTER XI.

THE INSANE.

THE amount of pauperism apparent in a community bears a direct relation to the poor laws and their administration; but insanity, because it requires immediate attention and institutional restraint, is not greatly affected in amount by the absence or provision of proper care. In the United States there were, in 1903, 150,151 insane persons in public and private asylums, 11,807 in almshouses, and an unknown number in private families. In 1880 there were enumerated 51,017 outside of hospitals as compared with 40,942 in them; and in 1890 only 32,457 outside, as compared with 94,028 in them.¹ In the census of 1903-1904 no attempt was made to enumerate those outside of institutions, but it is believed to be not less than in 1890. The number of hospitals increased from 162 in 1890 (of which 119 were public and 43 private) to 328 in 1900 (of which 226 were public and 102 private). This increase may signify an increasing ratio of insane in the population or merely an enlightened public demand for proper hospital care of the mentally sick.

Table LXIV. (pp. 318-319) shows the number and ratio of insane in hospitals in 1880, 1890, and 1903 for each of the United States.

Of the 49 States and Territories, only 8 show decreased ratios in 1903 as compared with 1890; and if the number outside of hospitals had been enumerated in 1903, there would probably have been increased ratios for every State.

¹ The enumeration in 1890 is known to have been less complete than in 1880.

TABLE LXIV.
INSANE IN HOSPITALS (1880-1903).^a

STATE OR TERRITORY.	INSANE ENUMERATED IN HOSPITALS, Dec. 31, 1903.		TOTAL INSANE ENUMERATED.		INCREASE (+) OR DECREASE (-) IN NUMBER OF INSANE PER 100,000 OF POPULATION.	
	Number.	Number per 100,000 of Population.	June 1, 1880.	June 1, 1900.	1880 to 1903.	1900 to 1903.
Continental United States	150,151	186.2	170.0	183.3	+ 16.2	+ 2.9
North Atlantic Division	57,417	256.9	238.6	247.5	+ 18.3	+ 9.4
Maine	885	125.3	198.5	237.6	- 71.2	- 112.3
New Hampshire	406	116.9	255.2	304.3	- 138.3	- 187.4
Vermont	657	205.1	247.6	306.5	+ 7.5	- 50.4
Massachusetts	8,679	288.5	272.6	287.5	+ 15.9	+ 1.0
Rhode Island	1,077	235.0	230.1	247.3	+ 4.9	- 12.3
Connecticut	2,831	292.9	275.5	276.7	+ 17.4	+ 16.2
New York	26,176	339.0	297.5	276.5	+ 41.5	+ 62.5
New Jersey	4,966	238.4	218.9	212.6	+ 19.5	+ 26.8
Pennsylvania	11,521	172.6	161.3	193.9	+ 11.3	- 21.3
South Atlantic Division	16,514	150.0	132.2	151.1	+ 17.8	- 1.1
Delaware	393	185.2	116.9	135.0	+ 68.3	+ 50.2
Maryland	2,505	202.0	157.9	198.7	+ 44.1	+ 3.3
District of Columbia	2,483	628.6	684.9	528.1	+ 143.7	+ 300.5
Virginia	3,137	162.9	145.4	159.4	+ 17.5	+ 3.5
West Virginia	1,475	143.3	141.5	158.8	+ 1.8	- 15.5
North Carolina	1,863	94.5	106.6	144.9	- 12.1	- 50.4
South Carolina	1,186	82.1	79.2	111.7	+ 2.9	- 29.6
Georgia	2,639	120.7	98.6	110.0	+ 21.9	+ 10.7
Florida	713	123.4	86.7	93.8	+ 33.7	+ 29.6

North Central Division	51,634	186.3	164.8	171.7	+ 21.5	+ 14.6
Ohio	8,621	149.0	207.0	227.8	- 8.0	- 28.8
Indiana	4,358	165.5	150.1	179.3	+ 15.4	- 13.8
Illinois	9,607	185.5	173.6	166.7	+ 11.9	+ 18.8
Michigan	5,430	215.6	177.9	170.8	+ 37.7	+ 44.8
Wisconsin	5,023	227.9	208.3	192.0	+ 19.6	+ 35.9
Minnesota	4,070	213.1	169.4	146.6	+ 43.7	+ 65.5
Iowa	4,385	186.9	167.2	183.6	+ 19.7	+ 30.3
Missouri	5,103	156.5	127.6	162.6	+ 28.9	+ 8.9
North Dakota	446	122.2	121.0	* 53.2	+ 1.2	+ 210.5
South Dakota	585	141.5	94.3	98.5	+ 47.2	+ 44.4
Nebraska	1,538	143.9	88.0	100.4	+ 55.9	+ 65.2
Kansas	2,400	165.6	125.7	125.7	+ 39.9	+ 33.9
South Central Division	13,877	91.8	95.9		- 4.1	
Kentucky	3,058	135.9	146.8	168.9	- 10.9	- 33.0
Tennessee	1,713	81.1	104.4	155.9	- 23.3	- 74.8
Alabama	1,603	82.6	97.1	120.5	- 14.5	- 37.9
Mississippi	1,463	90.8	85.6	101.4	+ 5.2	- 10.6
Louisiana	1,595	107.4	81.4	106.6	+ 26.0	+ 0.8
Texas	3,345	100.1	74.7	98.3	+ 25.4	+ 1.8
Indian Territory . . . . .	...	...	...	...	...	...
Oklahoma	413	80.5	11.3	...	+ 69.2	...
Arkansas	687	48.4	70.0	98.3	- 21.6	- 49.9
Western Division	10,709	240.8	194.1	200.8	+ 46.7	+ 40.0
Montana	543	194.4	145.3	180.6	+ 49.1	+ 43.8
Wyoming	98	193.0	65.9	18.2	+ 27.1	+ 73.8
Colorado	754	128.9	79.1	80.9	+ 49.8	+ 76.0
New Mexico	113	54.4	43.0	127.9	+ 11.4	- 73.5
Arizona	224	165.5	107.3	51.9	+ 58.2	+ 113.6
Utah	844	114.5	79.8	104.9	+ 34.7	+ 9.6
Nevada	200	473.4	389.9	49.7	+ 72.5	+ 422.7
Idaho	255	135.6	98.4	49.0	+ 37.2	+ 86.6
Washington	1,178	204.6	108.8	179.7	+ 95.5	+ 24.9
Oregon	1,285	228.9	204.0	216.3	+ 82.9	+ 70.6
California	5,717	361.3	309.2	289.5	+ 52.1	+ 71.8

* Special Census Report, "Insane," etc., 1904, p. 9.

Mr. John Koren, the special expert agent of the census, concludes that making every allowance for other considerations, the census returns permit but one conclusion, namely, that the rate of increase is greater for the insane in the United States than it is for the general population.¹ Whether the increase is due to an actual increase in insanity, or to a greater accuracy in the enumeration, or to improved institutional facilities which tend to increased use, it coincides with the experience of foreign countries, and the best authorities agree that there is an actual increase of insanity.

As between different States, the variation in ratios indicates not so much the difference in the relative number of the insane as the extent to which they have been segregated from the rest of the population. New York, for instance, has 166.4 more insane persons per 100,000 of population than Pennsylvania. It may be that New York actually has more insane, but this figure probably means that New York provides for them much more fully than Pennsylvania. This conclusion is borne out by the fact that in 1904 there were 1888 insane persons in almshouses in Pennsylvania and only 304 in New York.²

Granting an increase, which experts seem to agree has actually taken place, not only in the number of persons classed as insane, but in the number actually suffering from a diseased mental condition of given severity, the explanations that are offered for this increase are many.

Mr. Koren says: —

“As the management of the public hospitals and the care afforded patients have reached a higher standard, popular prejudice against these institutions has diminished. Yet until comparatively recent times the deep-rooted and often too well founded aversion to hospitals for the insane was a sufficient factor to keep out of them all patients who could be cared for in some other manner. The popular conception of a hospital for the insane as a place of confinement for the abnormal

¹ Special Report, “Insane,” etc., 1904, p. 10.

² *Ibid.*, p. 11.

is rapidly giving way to the modern idea of a curative establishment for the sick. Wise legislation has accelerated the influx to hospitals in many places by segregating the criminal, incurable, and epileptic insane and the feeble-minded from the others, by providing better safeguards in the matter of commitments, and in a few instances by prohibiting the admission of insane persons to almshouses."

The humane treatment of the insane has tended to lessen the death-rate among them. Gathered together into institutions where the sanitation is good, as a rule, the food nourishing, and the care watchful and kindly, there is a larger quantity of life falling to the lot of the insane population than would formerly have come to them. Their numbers increase because each remains longer upon the scene.

Medical skill is learning to control many of the contagious diseases and acute fevers. The consequent prolongation of life, in the population as a whole, has tended to allow larger numbers of comparatively weak constitutions to come to the period of life when degeneration of the nervous or vascular system takes place. This is held to account in part, not only for the increase in the number of the insane, but also for the increased number of persons who die from cancer and from diseases of degeneration.

The climatic influence of the country, with sharp extremes of heat and cold, and the dry atmosphere permitting rapid evaporation from the body, is held by many physicians to tend to the unbalancing of the nervous system. Dr. Pliny Earle maintains that as civilization has advanced, and the habits of the race have been consequently modified, disease has left its strongholds in the fleshy and muscular tissues and at length seated itself in the nervous system.

The over-tension of modern life, which is spoken of by some as if it were wholly responsible for the increase in the number of the insane, has undoubtedly had much to do with the increase in insanity. Especially among the more highly organized individuals the burden which modern life puts

upon the reasoning powers is out of all proportion to that which was placed upon them a few decades ago. We challenge custom, we question our instincts, we are sceptical where we used to have faith. In matters, for instance, such as the relation of man to the church, and of the sexes to each other, we now believe that reason should be constantly compelled to act. We have put upon the minds of the present generation great burdens, which those minds are not sufficiently well developed and well organized to bear.

Another explanation that is frequently given is the great amount of foreign immigration, and the character of the immigrants. A certain, or rather an uncertain, number of paupers, lunatics, and imbeciles have undoubtedly been foisted upon us by Europe. Besides this, the complete change of conditions, climate, and associations might be expected to unsettle the minds of foreigners coming to this country. But the comparisons ordinarily made between native-born and foreign-born insane, without reference to sex or age distribution in the population, are entirely misleading.

Much lurid poetry and fiction have been produced, having for their basis the unjust commitment of sane persons as insane; and, on the other hand, many papers have been written by physicians and others showing the danger of allowing insane persons to be too long without asylum restraint, and of the injustice that comes from making it too difficult to secure judgment of insanity and subsequent commitment and detention. Undoubtedly the danger of the commitment of sane persons has been greatly overestimated. The Earl of Shaftesbury, who was chairman of the English Commission in Lunacy for fifty years, stated that though the number of certificates that had passed through their office was more than 185,000, there was not one person who was not shown by good *prima facie* evidence to be in need of care and treatment. Drs. Ordroneaux and Smith, who were State commissioners in New York from 1873 to

1888, stated that, during the fifteen years of their term of service, no case of illegal detention had occurred in the State; and the inspector of Massachusetts hospitals made a similar statement in 1893.

In most instances there are two things to be decided: first, whether a person is legally insane and in need of asylum treatment or the control of a guardian, and second, whether or not he or his relatives should be compelled to support him.

In the United States there are four methods of commitment: by arraignment and trial without medical authority; by trial with medical examination; by physicians' declaration, the court merely registering the findings; by a regular commission. The decision as to sanity is primarily a medical question; the old method was to treat it as a legal one. The person "charged" with insanity was brought personally into court and tried before a jury. In a few States jury trial is still obligatory in all cases, and the presence of the patient at the trial is demanded. Although this system may be properly characterized as barbarous, there is at the same time a judicial element in the matter which requires that the cases should be passed upon by a court. The more progressive States provide that all commitments shall be recorded in the Court of Records, but that the testimony upon which the action is based shall for the most part be that of medical experts. It is necessary that adequate publicity should be provided for, that an adequate amount of expert testimony should determine the question of sanity, and that a court should protect the rights of the patient.

If the law were based on the modern conception of insanity as a disease, and not a crime, the procedure for commitment would take quite another aspect. As suggested by Professor Henderson, the Board of Inquiry composed of physicians would hold an inquest; the patient could not be detained in a jail, and the local authorities would be com-

pelled to provide a proper place of detention. The method prevalent in most States of keeping the insane during the inquiry in the same place with criminals is not only outrageous but injurious.¹

The detention of the insane is another matter when it is necessary to protect the interests at once of the community and of the inmates. It is a matter on which the inmates will usually differ in opinion from the superintendent of the institution, and it has not been found easy to work out rules that guarantee against all abuses. In the main, the right of correspondence should remain with the patients, the letters that they write being read by the superintendent or his representative, and any which are not forwarded being filed for the inspection of directors or other supervisors of the institution.²

Where the insane who are committed and detained are classified according as they or their relatives can or cannot pay for their support, the adjudication of this matter must usually rest with the overseers of the poor. There is likely to be a good deal of care exercised where the expense of maintenance is left to the towns and counties. Where the State maintains both the acute and the chronic insane, the drift is in the direction of giving free support to all insane persons, whether of the well-to-do classes or not.

Under the head of commitment and detention must be mentioned the matter of proper escort of the insane from the place of family residence to the hospital or asylum to which they are committed. In most States this matter is left to the sheriff, a relic of the time when only the legal aspects of the matter were considered by the courts. In other States the asylums are expected to send proper attendants to take the inmates to the institution, and a few provide that the county shall send a female attendant with

¹ Henderson, "Dependents," etc., pp. 187 ff.; Richardson, N. C. C., 1901, pp. 165 ff.

² Burr, N. C. C., 1902, p. 180.

every female patient, unless accompanied by her husband, father, brother, or son. The State Care Act of New York provides for female escort for females, and attaches a penalty for its non-observance.

The history of the treatment of the insane may be divided into four periods: the first, that of neglect, when the insane were only dealt with in case they were dangerous, and when they were treated as witches or wild animals; the second, the era of detention, when they were treated under such laws as the English Vagrancy Act; the third, the period of humanitarian and empirical treatment; and fourth, the period of scientific study, rational treatment, and preventive medicine, when insanity is recognized as "a disease and not a doom."¹ In this country, during the early part of the present century, the English precedents were followed, and the precedents rather of the earlier than of the passing period. In New York, the law provided for the detention of the insane by chains if necessary. Dorothea Lynde Dix, who, in the middle of this century, visited a large number of places for the care of the insane, was compelled to tell a most grievous tale of abuse and barbarity. Even with the establishment of the State Boards of Charity in the more progressive States in the middle of the sixties and early seventies, the condition of things was hardly better. The reports of the early seventies, describing the condition of the insane in the town and county almshouses, give accounts of barbarities as hideous as any unearthed fifty years earlier in

¹ Very different thoughts are brought to our minds by the two words "Bethlehem" and "Bedlam." Yet the second is only a corruption of the first; and the miserable associations that it recalls are connected with it because in a "hospital" founded in 1247, by the order of "St. Mary of Bethlem" (or Bethlehem), the insane were treated or mistreated during three centuries. Hodder's "Life of the Earl of Shaftesbury," vol. i., pp. 90 ff., gives a good summary of the history of the treatment of the insane. For the influence of the church upon the treatment of insanity, see Andrew D. White, "Warfare of Science with Theology," vol. ii., Chaps. XV., XVI.

England, or described by Miss Dix in this country. Even as late as 1907 the State Board of Charities of Illinois, in making an inspection of the county almshouses of that State, found similar conditions and repeated the essential recommendations made by Miss Dix sixty years before.¹

The history of the amelioration of the condition of the insane is marked chiefly by the decline of mechanical and medicinal restraint. Just after the French Revolution, Pinel inaugurated the movement in the great French hospitals for the insane and by 1837 mechanical restraint had been nominally abolished in England. English critics of American institutions claimed that our superintendents of institutions for the insane were far behind the times, because they would not commit themselves to the dogma of entire non-restraint; but careful foreign investigators who visited this country found that in the larger asylums there was as little restraint as obtained at the same time in England. Although the leading American alienists are agreed that restraint is useless as a curative measure, this, like other asylum abuses, was perpetuated in many asylums for the convenience of attendants, and encouraged by the manufacturer of "humane restraint apparatus." Except in the case of insane still remaining in almshouses, the grosser forms of restraint have disappeared; but "seclusion," that is, locking the insane person in a room by himself when he is troublesome and noisy, is still a very common practice. Dr. George A. Zeller, superintendent of the Illinois Asylum for Incurable Insane, declares that mechanical restraint will infuriate and finally kill an insane patient by the interference with the normal functions of the body; but that seclusion brings on a condition of mind from which death is a welcome relief. Seclusion is even less justifiable than mechanical restraint, since it is done to relieve the

¹ Special Bulletin, April, 1907; see also Ellwood's Bulletin on Missouri Almshouses and discussion on pp. 197 ff., *ante*.

attendants of trouble and responsibility. Medicinal restraint by narcotics is also fast disappearing from modern asylum practice, to be replaced by hydrotherapy, massage, and other non-medical agents.¹

The first State asylums in this country were comparatively small, designed for not more than 300 persons. In the third quarter of the nineteenth century, the agitation for the removal of the insane from county to State care resulted in the building of mammoth institutions, capable of accommodating as many as 2000 patients. In some cases the expenditure for buildings and plant amounted to \$1000 to \$3000 per capita, a cost exceeding that of the most expensive hotels.

These great caravansaries filled up, and still the counties had a large number of the insane. At the opening of Willard Asylum, in 1869, there were 1500 insane persons in New York State in county care. Six years later it was reported by the State Board that Willard Asylum was full, and that there were still 1300 remaining in county institutions. Mr. F. B. Sanborn points out that in most States which are attempting to provide for all the insane, the large central hospitals continue to be full to overflowing, and concludes:—

“The effort to provide for all the insane (of any but very small States) in large asylums seems to me as futile as the schoolboy’s hope to make the hind wheels of his wagon overtake the front wheels. Local asylums, good or bad, — too often bad, — always have existed and always will, if we speak of the United States as a whole.”²

It was soon found that the very large institutions were not answering their purposes, because their size made the individualization of cases difficult or impossible, and there was a sort of contagion of insanity resulting from the

¹ Zeller, “Mechanical and Medicinal Restraint,” Bulletin Illinois Board of Charities, October, 1906.

² N. C. C., 1900, pp. 98-99.

presence of such large numbers of lunatics on a small area. Later there came a tendency to build cottages grouped about a central administrative and hospital building, where families of the insane in the care of proper housekeepers and attendants can live in relative seclusion. Kankakee, Illinois, was an early illustration of this system of construction. To save expense, however, the legislature insisted on making the "cottages" much larger than was desired by those having an interest in this new development.

The tendency at the present time is to transform the large institutions as they grow into something approaching the colony by placing detached small buildings for special classes upon the estate; and some of the best new institutions are built wholly upon the colony plan. With this modification in the methods of building, the tendency toward State care has been greatly strengthened. New York has finally transferred all the insane from county to State care, and the same system has been adopted by most of the Western States.

Wisconsin has had the distinction for many years of being able to provide for all her insane either in State or county institutions. Whenever cure or improvement is considered possible, the patients are sent to a State hospital under the charge of specialists. Chronic cases not needing special restraint or care are sent back to the county after hospital treatment can benefit them no further; but no county is allowed to care for its own insane unless the plans of its almshouse buildings and the management of that institution are approved by the State Board of Control. If so approved, there is a small weekly per capita allowance from the State treasury to the county that cares for its own insane. If not approved, at any time the State Board has the power to transfer all the insane belonging to the county to State institutions or the almshouse asylums of other

counties, and collect the bill for their maintenance from the county to which they belong. Thus it is to the interest of the county to care for its own insane and to care for them properly.¹

About 70 per cent of the total insane are cared for in county asylums for chronic patients, and the remaining 30 per cent in large State hospitals for acute cases. It is claimed for the system that it is both economical and humane and that it makes it possible for the State to keep up with the increasing number of the insane. Although highly praised by some experts, it has been criticised for certain practical defects. Dr. C. B. Burr summed up the objections to the county asylum system as follows: absence of the hospital idea, lack of medical oversight, lack of sufficient attendants, lack of standards of care prescribed and enforced by central authority, and lack of both State and local supervision.²

The idea of segregation and of special provision for the harmless chronic insane has been carried in Massachusetts to the point of boarding selected cases of the insane in families. The amount paid for the board, together with the cost of the necessary visiting, makes it not much more economical than asylum care, although it is much more satisfactory for selected cases. There are those who hope that, as with children, the placing-out system is supplanting the institution system, so with the insane it may be possible to board larger numbers of them, and incorporate them thus in the ordinary population. In Scotland this system has been developed much further than in this country, and not less than one-fourth of the insane are living in families.³ In Massachusetts 350 patients were so placed in 1906, and although indiscriminate boarding in families is not advocated, yet

¹ Heg, N. C. C., 1896.

² *Am. Jour. of Insanity*, October, 1898.

³ Lathrop, N. C. C., 1902, pp. 185 ff.

this method certainly provides at minimum cost for a certain class of patients who could not be discharged upon their own resources, but who appear fit for greater liberty than an insane hospital provides.¹

Patients are cared for to a decreasing extent in private institutions. Some of the gravest abuses have grown up in these private homes or retreats, and, as a rule, commitment to a public institution is regarded as safer than to a private institution, unless the character of the man in charge is very well known.

After the classification by sex, and in the South by color, the next great line of division among the insane which specialists have attempted to make has been between acute, or possibly curable, and the chronic, or probably incurable, cases. In order to make cure as likely as possible, it is desirable that institutions should be small, the number of attendants large, of good character, and the best training, and all the conditions of life as nearly like those of a normal home as possible. To provide such facilities as these with the purpose of curative treatment is expensive; while, on the other hand, to take adequate care of the chronic or probably incurable insane requires a comparatively small per capita expenditure. Experts have constantly agitated for the separation of the two classes; but the ordinary citizen generally objects to the establishment of an asylum for the chronic insane because it emphasizes the hopelessness of their condition.

In the States where this classification between institutions has been measurably maintained, it results in very considerable saving, and in considerably better treatment for the curable insane. At the same time insanity is not usually a curable disease. Even in the best-managed institutions, and those receiving the likeliest class of patients, less than 30 per cent permanently recover. The statement

¹ Fish, N. C. C., 1907, pp. 438 ff.; Sanborn, pp. 448 ff.

of Dr. Thurnam, an English expert, made many years ago, based on the experience of forty-four years at the York Retreat, still comes nearer the truth than the more sanguine predictions of later authorities. Dr. Thurnam says:—

“In round numbers, of ten persons attacked by insanity, five recover, and five die sooner or later during the first attack. Of the five who recover, not more than two remain well during the rest of their lives; the other three sustain subsequent attacks, during which at least two of them die.”

After the separation of the curable from the incurable, in order to provide for the proper care of each, the next most important classification is, perhaps, into the criminal and the non-criminal insane. Some States have treated the criminal insane as criminals, and provided for them in branch penitentiaries. Others have treated them as insane, and put them into the same institution with other persons of that class, sometimes to the danger and often to the disgust of such other patients and their friends and relatives. The best policy, and the one adopted by the progressive States, is to have a separate asylum for the criminal insane.¹

Another essential to the proper classification is the separation from the insane of those who are epileptics, and also the distinctly feeble-minded. The class of epileptics, especially, is a great annoyance both to the inmates and managers of institutions for the insane, as they require special treatment which they can properly have only in a special institution. Beyond these distinctions which obtain as between institutions, there must further be a classification of the insane in any given institution to bring together those that do not vex or excite one another, and to segregate the filthy and the unmanageable. It is one of the defects of very large institutions that have been erected in some

¹ Barrows, “The Criminal Insane,” pp. 5-14.

States, that the wards are too large to make possible proper classification and consequent individualization of cases.

The recent discussions upon the care of the insane have turned upon the harmonizing and unifying of the most desirable features of all the systems now in use. Dr. Frederick Peterson names as the two essential provisions of an adequate system, psychopathic hospitals for the acutely insane in the cities, and colonies for the mixed classes of insane in the adjacent country. In 1907, the Committee on the Insane, of the National Conference of Charities and Corrections, formulated a comprehensive plan in which they laid down the following principles: the claims of locality should have primary consideration in the location of institutions and distribution of patients in order that they may be accessible to friends and to promote local convenience and interest. Classification is imperative,—the acute and curable from the chronic and incurable, the harmless from the violent,—but the Committee think these requirements are best met under the same local management, by suitable separation in space, variety of buildings and equipment, and judicious grouping. They believe that large institutions, whether desirable or not, are inevitable and must develop along the two lines of efficient economical administration and excellence of medical and scientific work under a single unifying authority,—a medical executive, with a clear subdivision and definition of departments.

The Committee proposes the classification of the 2000 insane of a single district into three groups: the acute and curable; the chronic infirm, dangerous, and custodial; and the chronic harmless and able-bodied. These should be in separate buildings, the distance might vary from a few hundred feet to many miles, and they would be designated, respectively, the hospital, the asylum, and the colony. The hospital should receive all patients for observation and examination and retain the curable; it should be the centre of

the higher medical and scientific work, under the direction of an expert psychiatrist, with a staff of physicians and laboratory workers and a training school for nurses. The asylum would receive the infirm, dangerous, and untrustworthy, and its main purpose would be safe custody and palliative treatment. The colony would take the harmless patients and establish them in small, homelike groups, according to their condition, and reëducate them in industrial activities. But a considerable portion of the harmless chronic class might be placed in the private care of families and supervised from the central institution, as is done in Massachusetts.

Besides this comprehensive scheme for combining the large institution under centralized control with thorough classification and the essential features of the colony, there are two special aspects of the care of the insane which have lately been strongly emphasized. American physicians trained in Europe where clinics in psychiatry have long been established, have felt the need of separate hospitals for the observation of acute and incipient mental diseases. Dr. J. Montgomery Mosher describes the complicated legal procedure for commitment of an insane person in New York and says:—

“In brief, a patient who is suffering from a disease of the mind, the most threatening calamity of life, must be so far advanced in the disease and so disordered in action or in speech as to satisfy a lay tribunal of the necessity or the justification of the forcible deprivation of his liberty, must be told that he is ‘insane,’ must be ‘adjudged insane,’ and committed by a court to an institution for the insane before he can receive the treatment best adapted to the restoration of his health.”¹

The demand for a hospital for the mentally disturbed, where they may be properly observed and cared for pending

¹ Mosher, N. C. C., 1907, p. 423; in 1908 the law was modified so as to permit voluntary commitment.

a decision as to the necessity for commitment, has been met by the establishment of different types of psychopathic hospitals. In New York, the psychopathic hospital is located at one of the State asylums and serves for all; in Michigan, it is located at the State University and is a central institution for the State asylums; and in Albany it is a department of a general hospital for mental diseases, known as Pavilion F. The report of five years' work at Pavilion F illustrates the humanity and the economy of the system.¹

Under treatment without legal process	905
Improved or recovered	596
Stationary	316
Died	86
Committed after period of observation	118
Under detention during legal process	126
	<hr/> 1031

If this special provision had not been made, 905 of these patients would either have had to be treated at home or would have been committed after a probably harmful development of the disease. All alienists are agreed that early recognition of the disease and treatment are most important in insanity, and Dr. Barnett of Michigan urges that the character of psychopathic hospitals should be such that patients, after recovery and return to civil life, should feel no more embarrassment than if they had been ill in a general hospital. Dr. Adams, superintendent of the Westboro, Massachusetts, Insane Hospital, to which patients have long been admitted by voluntary application, is heartily in favor of the system as a measure for preventing the accumulation of incurably insane in asylums by securing treatment early enough to bring about recovery.²

Not less important than the provisions for incipient insanity is the care of insane persons upon their discharge as

¹ N. C. C., 1907, p. 427.

² *Ibid.*, 1907, pp. 434-437.

recovered. Although societies for the after-care of the insane have existed in Europe for three-quarters of a century, the first society of this sort in this country was organized by the New York State Charities Aid Association in 1906. It is believed that from 10 to 25 per cent of patients need friends, guidance, and assistance upon their discharge, and that such help promptly given will prevent the relapse and recommitment of a considerable number.¹

No mention can here be made of the improvement in the treatment of the insane which comes only through an improvement in the personnel of the institution, through freedom from spoils politics, through the introduction of civil service reform, through the activity of clubs of men connected with each institution organized for their mutual improvement, and through the development of training schools for attendants upon the insane. It is by these and other agencies that the present great advancement is being made along the lines of greater wisdom in treatment, greater kindness in control, and greater freedom within the bounds of safety for the insane.

¹ Report of State Charities Aid Association, 1906; Nos. 92 and 93.

CHAPTER XII.

THE FEEBLE-MINDED, EPILEPTIC, AND INEBRIATE.

THE term "feeble-minded" is now used to cover all grades of idiocy and imbecility, from the child that is merely dull and incapable of profiting by the ordinary school, to the gelatinous mass that simply eats and lives. If it is difficult to give an exact definition of insanity, it is manifestly even more difficult to give an exact definition of feeble-mindedness. Dr. Ireland, in accordance with English usage, defines idiocy separately as : —

"A mental deficiency or extreme stupidity, depending upon malnutrition or disease of the nervous centres, occurring either before birth or before the evolution of the mental faculties in childhood."

Dr. Martin W. Barr, of Elwyn, Pennsylvania, gives a more comprehensive definition : —

"Feeble-mindedness, including idiocy and imbecility, is defect, either mental or moral, or both, usually associated with certain physical stigmata or degeneration. Although incurable, its lesser forms may be susceptible of amelioration or modification, just in proportion as they have been superinduced by causes congenital or accidental."

The class to which the technical term "feeble-mindedness" is applied may be expected to increase as specialists improve their acquaintance with the different symptoms. For this reason, as in the case of the insane, the census figures bearing upon the subject indicate a rate of increase out of all proportion, probably, to any actual increase of the condition of feeble-mindedness in the population.

In 1880 the enumeration, although not complete, was more nearly so than in the two later ones ; at that time there were

reported 76,895 feeble-minded persons — a proportion of 153.3 persons per 100,000 of the population. In 1890, the number was 95,609, or 152.7 per 100,000 of population; but as this census was not supplemented by reports from physicians as the previous one had been, it undoubtedly falls far short of the total number. In 1903 the census law called for an enumeration of those in institutions only, which makes the figures not comparable with those of 1880 and 1890. Of those enumerated in 1890, only 5254 were in special institutions, and 2469 in asylums for the insane, the number in almshouses being unknown. In 1903 the feeble-minded in institutions numbered only 14,347, and there were in almshouses 16,551 "supposedly" feeble-minded. Competent authorities place the number of those needing institutional treatment at the present time at 150,000.¹

It is apparent that provision for the institutional care of the feeble-minded is much less adequate than for the other defective classes. In 1890 there were twenty public and four private institutions. Table LXV. shows the numbers and distribution of institutions and inmates in 1904.

In New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania there are two or more institutions; in the North Central division every State has a public institution; in the South Atlantic and South Central divisions there are altogether only six institutions; while in twenty-four States there are none at all. In these latter States the feeble-minded are in almshouses, insane asylums, or chiefly in homes, receiving neither custodial care nor industrial training. Only a few of the forty-two institutions are custodial, the greater number being for feeble-minded children, and none of the public institutions can provide for all the applicants.

Of the 16,946 inmates of these institutions, 53.8 per cent were males, 46.2 per cent females; 75 per cent were between five and twenty years of age; nearly one-third were

¹ Special Report, "Feeble-minded in Institutions," 1903-1904, p. 205.

TABLE LXV.
FEEBLE-MINDED IN INSTITUTIONS, 1904.*

STATE.	Total Number of Inmates.	NUMBER OF INMATES.			NUMBER OF INSTITUTIONS.	
		Enu- mer- ated, Dec. 31, 1903.	Admit- ted during 1904.	Dis- charged, died, or trans- ferred during 1904.	Public.	Private.
Continental United States .	16,946	14,347	2,599	1,435	28	14
North Atlantic Division . .	6,651	5,699	952	671	11	3
New Hampshire	72	64	8	5	1	..
Massachusetts	995	878	117	71	1	1
Connecticut	262	219	43	27	1	..
New York	2,594	2,135	459	355	4	..
New Jersey	527	460	67	37	2	2
Pennsylvania	2,201	1,943	258	176	2	..
South Atlantic Division . .	397	338	59	32	4	2
Maryland	176	162	14	8	1	1
Virginia	46	35	11	6	..	1
West Virginia	175	141	34	18	1	..
North Central Division . .	8,859	7,459	1,400	607	12	6
Ohio	1,307	1,125	182	59	1	..
Indiana	1,118	1,036	82	101	1	..
Illinois	1,507	1,283	224	116	1	1
Michigan	657	516	141	46	1	2
Wisconsin	710	611	99	36	1	..
Minnesota	1,071	888	183	76	1	..
Iowa	1,152	981	171	107	1	1
Missouri	354	250	104	24	1	2
North Dakota	86	..	86	1	1	..
South Dakota	77	51	26	5	1	..
Nebraska	386	337	49	23	1	..
Kansas	434	381	53	13	1	..
South Central Division . .	244	189	55	29	1	1
Kentucky	244	189	55	29	1	1
Western Division	795	662	133	96	2	2
Colorado	33	14	19	8	..	1
Washington	124	81	43	32	1	1
California	638	567	71	56	1	..

* Special Census Report, p. 208.

found to be epileptic, blind, deaf-mute, paralytic, crippled, maimed, or deformed. For the feeble-minded and epileptic, who are in need of institutional care quite as much as the insane, provision has only just begun and is likely to be inadequate for many years to come.

In the discussion of the symptomatic causes of poverty it has been already shown that a neurotic heredity and bad conditions of the mother during gestation and childbirth are among the chief causes of imbecility.¹ The social results and the cost to the community of leaving feeble-minded children without education and adults without protection may be illustrated by the experience of Indiana, as described by Mr. Ainos W. Butler of the State Board of Charities. From a study of 803 families selected because of feeble-mindedness, and made from the office records, the following facts were derived: —

“These families consist of 3048 members, of whom 1664, or 55 per cent, are feeble-minded. . . . Counting only those of whose parents we have some information, it was found that of 1748, or 57.3 per cent, one or the other, and frequently both, of the parents were feeble-minded or afflicted with some related physical defect. Included in the 803 families are 312 families in which feeble-mindedness was found in two or more generations. In this group there are 1643 individuals, of whom 57 per cent are feeble-minded, and 60.6 per cent are either mentally or physically defective. . . . The entire number of descendants, extending into the fifth generation and including 96 men and women who married into the families, is 1019, and among them are 624 defectives. This indicates inherited defect in 61.2 per cent of the descendants of these feeble-minded parents.”²

The origin of the work of training the feeble-minded has two sources: one the school, and one the hospital; it lies between the department of education and the department of medicine. The schools for the deaf and blind found them-

¹ Dr. Ireland and Dr. Barr both treat the causes of feeble-mindedness at length.

² N. C. C., 1907, p. 8; statistical tables in full, pp. 611-614; see also N. C. C., 1896, similar study and statistics, pp. 219-226.

selves asked to educate children that were also feeble-minded, and hospitals for the insane were asked to treat a large number of imbeciles. The educational element was at first most strongly developed. Hopes were entertained of making 50 or 75 per cent of the feeble-minded self-supporting; but that optimistic view had to be modified, and it is now seen that not more than 10 or 15 per cent can be made self-supporting in the sense that they can return to an independent life in the ordinary population.¹

The first step in the treatment of the feeble-minded is thorough classification with reference to their educability and their possible return to life in the world. Although medical men may differ upon the scientific gradation of different classes, for educational purposes there is essential agreement. Dr. Barr proposes the following classification for determining the degree of restraint, and the capacity for mental and moral development.

EDUCATIONAL CLASSIFICATION OF THE FEEBLE-MINDED.²

I. *Asylum Care* :

A. Idiot :

profound { apathetic } unimprovable.
 { excitable }

superficial { apathetic } improvable in self-help only.
 { excitable }

B. Idio-imbecile :

improvable in self-help and helpfulness.

trainable in a very limited degree to assist others.

II. *Custodial Life and Perpetual Guardianship* :

A. Moral imbecile : mentally and morally deficient.

low-grade : trainable in industrial occupations ; temperament bestial.

middle grade : trainable in industrial and manual occupations ; a plotter of mischief.

high-grade : trainable in manual and intellectual arts ; with a genius for evil.

¹ N. C. C., 1898, Powell, p. 293; Seguin and Johnson, N. C. C., 1896, p. 215.

² "Mental Defectives," p. 90; reprinted in *Charities*, vol. xii., 1904, p. 881.

III. *Long Apprenticeship and Colony Life under Protection:*

A. Imbecile: mentally deficient.

low-grade: trainable in industrial and simple manual occupations.

middle-grade: trainable in manual arts and simplest mental acquirements.

high-grade: trainable in manual and intellectual arts.

IV. *Trained for a Place in the World:*

A. Backward or mentally feeble:

mental processes normal, but slow and requiring special training and environment to prevent deterioration; defect imminent under slightest provocation, such as excitement, over-stimulation, or illness.

The general principles of the treatment of this class of defectives as laid down by the Special Committee of the London Charity Organization Society in 1877 are still accepted. At that time Sir Charles Trevelyan reported for the Committee: that idiots and imbeciles should be treated separately from other classes; they should not be associated with lunatics or paupers, nor could they be placed with advantage in the ordinary schools with other children, nor boarded out as lunatics often were. The Committee recommended that their education should begin at the earliest moment at which they could dispense with a mother's care, and should be of a physical and industrial character; they should be especially encouraged to develop any talents in order to promote their self-respect and happiness. The Committee were not over-sanguine: they thought that a few might be returned to their homes, a larger number could be fitted for employment under superintendence, but the greater proportion would be unfit to be restored to society and should have custodial care, under medical supervision, in an economical manner and, as far as possible, with industrial employment. They concluded with the statement, "What-

ever be the cost of educating them, the cost of neglecting them is greater still." ¹

Concerning the special methods of education required, Dr. Barr says that as many of the lower grades are incapable of observation, they must be persistently taught what normal children acquire intuitively,—the proper mastication of food, the use of spoon, fork, and knife, the dressing and care of the body, the standing and walking unsupported, the very simplest matters of self-help; the sense organs must be tested in order that defects may be remedied by medical treatment; their senses must be awakened and stimulated, attention attracted, imitation encouraged by simple occupations. For the higher grades there must be development of the emotions, through exercise in ethical acts, achieving habits; of the body by physical exercises and manual training to promote mental activity; of the mind, achieving self-hood. And all these methods should be assisted by environment, association, amusement, and discipline.²

As has been already noted, the most hopeful aspect of work for the feeble-minded was that first undertaken in the United States, in institutions for the education of feeble-minded children. It was inevitable, since many of them could not be safely returned to the world, and as the institutions grew older, that numbers of adults should accumulate in the training schools. In recent years, the segregation and custodial care of adults—especially of feeble-minded women—has assumed a social importance even greater than the education of children. Many illustrations—such as that given by Mr. Amos W. Butler of Indiana, of 5 feeble-minded mothers of 19 children, 15 of whom had spent a total of 136 years in institutions, at an average expense of \$100 per

¹ Trevelyan, Special Report, "Education and Cure of Idiots," etc., 1877, London, Longmans; reprinted in Ireland, "Mental Affections of Children," pp. 405 ff.

² Barr, "Mental Defectives," Chap. VII.

year — have drawn attention to the necessity for preventing the reproduction of this class.¹

The custodial care of the feeble-minded having been assumed by the managers of the schools for children, it was found that, under wise administration, the adult imbeciles could be useful in the work of the institution; and that it was better, therefore, to introduce the colony plan with appropriate segregation of classes, than to establish other new institutions for the custodial care of adults. For instance, at Elwyn, it was found that many feeble-minded women had a liking for children, and that they could be distinctly serviceable in taking care of the young children in the school department, a work which made them happier, and benefited their own malady as far as anything could. "It is not," as Dr. Knight said, "because the managers of these institutions wish to build up a great institution, but because by the colony plan a larger share of service can be rendered than by splitting one institution into several new ones." New York, however, established special custodial homes for adult idiots and a home for feeble-minded women, and New Jersey has followed the example. It remains to be seen whether specialists will conclude that classification should be maintained as between institutions, or whether it should be carried on in large institutions on the colony plan. With the plan

¹ Another case is given by Dr. Fernald: "A feeble-minded girl of the higher grade was accepted as a pupil in the Massachusetts School for the Feeble-minded when she was fifteen years of age. At the last moment the mother refused to send her to the school, as she 'could not bear the disgrace of publicly admitting that she had a feeble-minded child.' Ten years later the girl was committed to the institution by the court, after she had given birth to six illegitimate children, four of whom were still living and all feeble-minded. The city where she lived had supported her at the almshouse for a period of several months at each confinement, and had been compelled to assume the burden of the lifelong support of her progeny, and finally decided to place her in permanent custody. Her mother had died broken-hearted several years previously." N. C. C., 1893, pp. 212-213.

of detached buildings for different classes, the dependents can be provided for at an expense of about \$400 per patient for construction, which is much less than the construction cost heretofore thought necessary for the insane.

That custodial care for most grades of the feeble-minded is increasingly demanded cannot be doubted. It has been later in coming than the custodial care of the chronic insane, because the latter are more actively and obviously mischievous to society; but in proportion as the importance of human selection becomes better understood, the custodial care throughout life of the feeble-minded of both sexes will be demanded.

At the present time the tendency seems to be strongly toward a modified colony plan, partly from motives of economy and partly because of the accumulation of the trained feeble-minded in the schools who should still be under protection. Massachusetts has solved the difficulty by establishing a farm colony for a selected class of the trained feeble-minded. The seven farms comprising 2000 acres of cheap lands with their buildings are 60 miles from the training school. Groups of older boys are transferred from the school to the farmhouses and cottages and lead there a normal country life, earning a part of their livelihood and shielded from temptation and competition.¹

One of the latest developments of public education closely related to the treatment of the feeble-minded is the special classes for backward children in the public schools. Such children are characterized by moral and mental weaknesses verging on defect such as faulty expression and lack of normal growth, nervous disorders from lack of tone to muscular tremors, and digestive disorders resulting from

¹ N. C. C., 1902, pp. 487-495. The propositions to check the reproduction of the unfit by strict marriage laws and by sterilization have already been discussed on pp. 28-31; see also N. C. C., 1897, p. 301; 1898, p. 302, p. 304; 1902, p. 152.

malnutrition. Many of them have misshapen heads, highly arched palates, faulty chests, and defects of the special senses. An examination of 100,000 children out of 600,000 registered in the New York City schools in 1906 showed 66 per cent needing medical or surgical attention or better nourishment, 40 per cent in need of dental care, 38 per cent having enlarged cervical glands, 31 per cent defective vision, 18 per cent enlarged tonsils, and 10 per cent post-nasal growths.¹ Dr. M. P. E. Groszmann says that these atypical children are the product of unfavorable hereditary and environmental influences, but differ from the really abnormal children in that special training and normal life conditions will allow them to reestablish within themselves a fair normality.²

Three kinds of classes are proposed for abnormal children: training classes for the mentally deficient, coaching classes for the slightly backward, delicate, or exceptional, and disciplinary classes for the truant and disorderly. In many cities a few such classes now exist, but in general the teachers in charge of them have had no special training in the recognition of mental deficiencies and are not adequately equipped for their peculiar task. In Boston, selected teachers are given an opportunity at city expense to observe the methods in the best schools for the feeble-minded, and a teachers' course is now offered at the New Jersey Training School for Feeble-minded Boys and Girls. The movement is recognized as highly important not merely for the relief of the teachers of normal children in the public schools, but as a preventive measure. Such children become in many cases semi-criminal, or at least incapable of self-support. Among the group of backward children will be found those who with this special training

¹ Quoted from Allen, "Efficient Democracy," p. 79.

² See Dr. Groszmann's classification and discussion of atypical children, *Charities*, vol. xii., 1904, p. 897.

and medical care may become normal, and among them also some who will prove to be really feeble-minded and in need of institutional care. In either case the work of prevention is economical as well as humane.¹

A further and quite recent differentiation in the classes mentally and nervously diseased is the provision of colony care for epileptics. It has long been recognized that their presence in institutions for the feeble-minded and the insane is unfortunate from the standpoint of the other patients, while at the same time the special attention they need cannot be given them. At most of the large institutions for other classes, special wards or buildings are provided where those subject to epileptic seizures may be cared for. But even this arrangement is inadequate, since the epileptic, in the earlier stages of the disease at least, is a sane person, and conscious of his surroundings in the intervals between attacks. By far the larger part of them are without institutional care, and the unhappy condition of the epileptic in the world is thus described by Dr. Barr:—

“Cut off more or less from school companionship and association . . . however well prepared he may become, his infirmity must always prove an impediment to securing positions of trust or responsibility. An object thus of terror or of pity . . . he gravitates toward a life of self-indulgence or of monotony and loneliness, tending greatly to produce mental deterioration. . . . Various phases of the disease are characterized by wanderings, delusions, or even by the perpetration of violent acts of which the patient may be oblivious. . . . This leads to the crowding of these unfortunates into insane asylums or into institutions for the feeble-minded. This is a double wrong . . . because he is more lonely than at home with no motive for active pursuits.”²

There were enumerated in 1904 in insane asylums 11,652 epileptics, in institutions for the feeble-minded 3015, and

¹ Chase, N. C. C., 1904, p. 390 ff., history of such classes; *Charities*, vol. xii., 1904, p. 871 ff., several valuable articles by experts.

² Barr, “Mental Defectives,” p. 225.

in almshouses 2106. Mr. Letchworth estimated in 1900 that there were 113,000 epileptics in the United States; other authorities think that 150,000 is nearer the truth. Epilepsy, like feeble-mindedness, is preëminently a disease of neurotic heredity. In a study of 1200 cases in the Massachusetts Hospital for Epileptics, Dr. A. V. Cooper found that 15.4 per cent presented a well-marked history of hereditary transmission; Spratling and Barr give much higher percentages, while none of the foreign observers give any less.¹ Dr. Peterson emphasizes its interrelations with other neuroses; he says:—

“Epilepsy is one of the equivalents in polymorphic heredity. By this we imply that when the nervous mechanism governing the normal evolution of both body and mind is disarranged, the result is a condition of nervous instability which manifests itself in the descendants in some one of many forms. The result may be epilepsy, chorea, neurasthenia, hysteria, somnambulism, migraine, feeble-mindedness, idiocy, insanity, inebriety, criminal tendencies, or simple eccentricity. . . . These are all interchangeable manifestations of an unstable nervous system. . . . We may assume heredity as a cause of epilepsy in at least 33 per cent of the cases.”²

Dr. Peterson mentions, among other causes, inebriety not only in the epileptic but in his parents; injuries to the head, infectious diseases, and emotional shocks to the mother or the child.

Epilepsy is now regarded as much more hopeful of cure than formerly, 50 per cent of those in institutions being improvable, and from 5 to 10 per cent even of the confirmed cases curable.³ At the Massachusetts Hospital nearly half are physically and mentally capable of regular employment, and about 20 per cent more able to do some regular work at times.

¹ “Heredity in Epilepsy,” *Transactions, etc.*, p. 155; Barr, “Mental Defectives,” Chap. X.

² “Epilepsy,” *Transactions, etc.*, 1901, pp. 14–15.

³ Flood, *Transactions, etc.*, 1906, p. 273.

In 1906 ten States had made provision for epileptics separate from insane, pauper, or feeble-minded persons in colonies; villages, or hospitals. There seems to be an agreement among all experts that colony or village grouping on large estates is the ideal method of providing for this class. Ohio established the first colony in 1893 and has now six large cottages for women and seven for men, accommodating about 900 patients with a building considerably removed, which accommodates 200 more of the helpless and insane class; a hospital and other buildings providing for about 1400 patients altogether. The Craig Colony, at Sonyea, western New York, has an estate of nearly 2000 acres and about 1000 patients, most carefully classified, in small cottages for the comparatively normal, and in larger buildings for the infirmary class. In scientific methods it has served as a model for the newer institutions.¹ The per capita cost at this institution has been reduced to \$141.38. The patients who are able to work contribute on the average about \$35 per year to their own support.

The organization of the National Association for the study of epilepsy and the care and treatment of epileptics in 1900 has had a marked influence in stimulating interest in the subject of institutional care.² The dissemination of information regarding the best foreign colonies especially Bielefeld, and the more advanced colonies in the United States, is gradually educating the general public to demand for the young epileptic opportunity for training and care, and for the incurable class occupation, so long as they remain capa-

¹ Reports from all the State institutions are found in *Transactions*, etc., 1906.

² The Association was founded for these purposes: to promote the general welfare of sufferers from epilepsy; to stimulate the study of the causes and the methods of cure; to advocate the care of epileptics in institutions where they may receive a common school education, acquire trades, and be treated by the best medical skill; to assist the various States in making provision for epileptics.

ble, and custodial care when all capacity is lost by mental deterioration. The emphasis which scientists are placing upon the hereditary character of epilepsy is creating also a widespread belief that they should not marry and that society must protect itself from the reproduction of these as of others who are unfit.

To some it may seem improper to treat of the care of the inebriate in the same chapter with the feeble-minded and epileptic, but there is now substantial agreement among medical experts that habitual drunkenness is a disease, requiring custodial care, and that occasional drunkenness is frequently a symptom of neurotic heredity demanding prompt medical attention.¹ Intemperance as a cause of poverty has already been discussed in Chapter III.; the predisposing causes of drunkenness in neurotic heredity, lack of education in self-control, lack of wholesome recreation, and the presence of constant allurements of the saloon have also been briefly touched upon.² It is with the treatment of the drunkard that we are now particularly concerned. In the early part of the nineteenth century slight attention was paid to public drunkenness; in the last fifty years it has become a crime if accompanied by disorderly conduct. The better-class inebriate generally manages to escape the law, protected by his friends and for the sake of his family. The inebriate of the poorer class whose friends are unable to protect him is found drunk in the street, arrested, fined, and imprisoned; not being able to pay the fine, he is committed again and again to jail.³ The system of short-term commitments for drunkenness in the county jails or in the houses of correction has no curative effect whatever. The person who has been convicted ten times for drunkenness

¹ Brantwaite, *Am. Jour. of Inebriety*, 1907, winter and spring numbers. Wilson, "Drunkenness"; Palmer, "Inebriety." ² Chap. III.

³ In all American cities where prohibition is not in force the arrests for intoxication constitute from 40 to 50 per cent of all arrests.

and is convicted again is sentenced by the judge with the perfect knowledge that no good will result, except that the person will be kept from bothering the community during the time of the sentence, and that he will come out of jail as likely to offend against the law as before he was committed. In some cases as many as one hundred and twenty commitments have been registered against a single person. By alternating jails and almshouses in order to secure a change of diet and associates, the habitual vagabond drunkard is enabled to recuperate his shattered forces at the expense of the community, and prolong his life and evil influences indefinitely.

When he has at last developed delirium tremens, or some phase of insanity, he may be committed to an insane asylum; or when he has finally committed a crime, he may be sentenced to prison. He may originally have been a weak good man of bad heredity, or a vicious criminal, but in either case the treatment received is quite indiscriminating.¹

In 1899 an advisory committee to the mayor of Boston made a report of great value, illustrating the futility, injustice, and expense of the present method of police court commitments. Table LXVI. shows the number and per cent of first commitments and recommitments for drunkenness to all penal institutions in Massachusetts for the year ending Sept. 30, 1898.

The calculable cost of the procedure pictured in the table was reckoned as follows:—

26,157 arrests for drunkenness at \$8.04	\$210,494.74
10,431 committals to various penal institutions, served all together 1698 years at a per capita cost from \$84.70 to \$184.69 per year	129,008.12
Total	<u>\$339,502.86</u>
Income from fines	23,490.78
Net cost of arrests and imprisonment	<u>\$316,012.08</u>

¹ Wilson, p. 149.

TABLE LXVI.

COMMITMENTS FOR DRUNKENNESS, MASSACHUSETTS, 1898.*

	NUMBER.	PER CENT.
Whole Number of Commitments	20,222	. . .
Number of First Commitments	8,994	43.46
Total Recommitments	11,439	56.54
Number of Times previously committed :		
1 time	2,113	18.47
2 times	2,415	21.11
3 times	1,524	13.32
4 times	1,021	8.92
5 times	816	7.13
6 to 15 times	2,701	23.61
16 to 30 times	689	5.58
31 to 50 times	160	1.38
More than 50 times	50	.43

* City Document No. 158, 1899, p. 52.

The Advisory Committee urged the extension of the probation system to all first offenders, and longer sentences for the habitual offender. With these penal aspects of the drink question we have nothing to do at present; nor is it a part of technical charities to discuss the various methods of temperance legislation and of temperance reform, however useful they may be. It is useless to wait for total abstinence to provide a remedy for habitual drunkenness, although such agitation has resulted in making moderate drinkers more moderate and many moderates into teetotalers. As Dr. Brantwaite says, we are neglecting the main source of the supply of drunkards, the drunkard himself. The charitable problem is how to secure earlier control of the hopeful inebriate and the sequestration of the hopeless drunkard. The habitual drunkard will very rarely submit himself to prolonged confinement in a hospital or reformatory; and, on the other hand, unless placed under

treatment early in the course of the disease, he has almost no chance of permanent cure.

The experience of the Massachusetts State Hospital at Foxboro clearly illustrates this point. Of 235 patients first admitted in 1905-1906, the average duration of inebriety had been seventeen years, and in one-third, over twenty years. The superintendent classifies these patients into: the recent or curable type, the chronic who is not of evil repute apart from his habits of inebriety, and the incorrigible drunkard, who often has some criminal record. He recommends hospital treatment for the first class, custodial care on a farm where they may be partly self-supporting for the second class, and penal commitment for the third. He urges that the courts should have discretionary power in the case of those not of the chronic or criminal type, to commit to the hospital instead of a penal institution for a period of not less than thirty days. A new State law also permits voluntary commitment.

In view of the fact that the average age of patients was forty-one years, and the average duration of inebriety seventeen years, the results at the Foxboro State Hospital are encouraging: 230 persons were discharged between July 1, 1905, and July 1, 1906. Their apparent condition after Oct. 1, 1906, was as follows: temperate, 40 per cent; improved or drinking less, 16 per cent; unimproved or drinking as before, 23.9 per cent; could not be found, 16 per cent; died, 3.5 per cent.

The public institutional care of inebriates has only just begun, but is destined to increase in proportion as the close interrelation of inebriety with other neuroses is generally recognized. The State of Iowa opened a hospital in 1905 similar to the Massachusetts Hospital, and Minnesota in 1907 established a hospital farm to which inebriates are to be committed on an indeterminate sentence.

Analogous to the institution for inebriates would be one

where persons convicted of habitual offences against chastity might be committed for treatment and especially for detention. In case cure or reform, whichever we choose to call it, should prove to be impossible, they could then be detained during the remainder of their natural lives, working for their own support in a colony. New York has at present a custodial home for feeble-minded women.¹ Short commitments for this class of offences are manifestly as futile as in the case of habitual drunkards. Further than this, this class of persons are especially subject to disorders analogous to feeble-mindedness; and in all institutions for wayward girls the number verging upon feeble-mindedness is found to be especially large. The managers of reformatories and refuges for fallen women frequently complain that those who come to them need hospital treatment and prolonged detention, which only the custodial home could give.

There is also need of custodial institutions for male offenders against chastity, nothing at present being done, perhaps because any treatment with the present punitive and reformatory machinery would be so manifestly futile. With proper custodial homes for persons of these classes of both sexes, we could begin to segregate and thereby sterilize a large number of those who have proved themselves by their conduct to belong to the class of the unfit.

¹ The late Mrs. Josephine Shaw Lowell was a strong advocate of such measures during the whole of her life as a charity worker and official.

CHAPTER XIII.

FURTHER DIFFERENTIATION AND SUMMARY.

WE have now examined the methods of caring for most of the different classes of dependents, so far as they have become distinct enough to require special institutions supported in whole or in part by public money. From the almshouse, or from the poor relieved in their homes, there has been a constant drafting off of the specialized classes, which may have nearly reached its culmination in the older States, but which must be continued for some time to come wherever the almshouse is still the catch-all for the poor of the community. The process of differentiation during the last one hundred years is graphically represented by the accompanying chart of the public charities of the State of Indiana. Although the particular institutions evolved from outdoor relief and the almshouse may vary in the different States, a similar diagram might be made of most of them with substantially the same features.

The almshouse is, as a rule, the best place that public authorities have yet provided for the aged poor of good character. In the larger cities some attempt is generally made to classify the aged and infirm by character in wards or corridors, and recently, in New York, the semi-able-bodied have been drafted off to a separate institution. For those of good character there have grown up in all centres of population a considerable number of private homes, usually managed by churches. Admission to these is generally obtained by the payment of a sum down, which insures care during life. It is really a life annuity for somewhat less than its money value. One hundred to six hundred

REPORT OF PUBLIC CHARITIES IN INDIANA.

State Supervision
1905

State Supervision
1907

Board of County Charities — 1899

Feeble-minded
Women
1901

Village for
Epileptics
1907

Hospital for
Tuberculars
1907 †

Secretary of the State Board of Charities.

† Authorized.

dollars is the sum charged, and persons are usually not admitted under sixty years of age. Sometimes the age limit is still higher. Frequently there is a provision that persons must be members of a particular denomination; sometimes the homes are established for a particular class, as for the wives of deceased ministers, and so on. Friends often contribute the admission fee for a deserving person, and obtain a place for him. Very frequently such homes are used as a means of providing a safe and comfortable place for the aged having a little property, or possibly a pension, who have no relatives with whom they can live, and who have not property enough to support them outside an institution; when well managed, they furnish a very satisfactory way of providing for the aged of good character.

The Catholic Order of the Little Sisters of the Poor maintains, in various large cities, homes for the aged, to which persons are admitted without regard to creed or character, if only they are amenable to the rules of the house after admission. These homes are supported entirely by the Sisters, who beg from door to door, and from office to office, and go at the close of business to the markets and stores to collect the refuse, or whatever may be given by the owners; and who further collect from hotels, restaurants, and private dwellings the broken victuals and other material that can be used. These homes are models of order, and the Sisters, most of whom come from France, where is the mother house of the order, have good control of the very querulous and often exacting inmates, whom they speak of as "the children."

The provision for aged dependents is, however, quite inadequate to the demand. The New York Charity Organization Society reported in 1907 that there were 1200 such persons on the waiting lists of existing institutions, and suggested the enlargement of these, the foundation of new ones, or a plan of boarding out in private families under

supervision. In so far as public institutions are concerned, the tendency to remove the defective and semi-criminal classes seems likely to result in leaving the almshouse as a home for the aged diseased, the decrepit, and unfortunate.

The very serious agitation in England for a system of relief for the aged, more honorable than that afforded by the poor-law authorities, has crystallized about the idea of old-age pensions. In the United States the subject has attracted much less attention, except as applied to special classes such as soldiers and nurses, firemen, policemen, teachers, railway, and civil service employees.¹ California passed in 1883 a State law providing that any institution maintaining persons over sixty years of age should receive for each such person an annual allowance of \$100 per year. The law applied to county almshouses and other public institutions, as well as to private charities, and it was, therefore, possible for the county officials to give this pension, the bill being paid by the State. The cost and the abuse of the system became so serious that the law was repealed in 1895.

On the side of medical charities, we may expect the further development of special homes for incurables, of which there are now a considerable number maintained by private benevolence. The almshouse is still about the only home for incurables which the public maintains, though private institutions of the kind are sometimes subsidized. Another subdivision in medical charities, following European example, will doubtless be special hospitals for the treatment of venereal diseases.

Hospitals for children and maternity hospitals, now maintained chiefly by private benevolence and in connection with medical schools, will probably keep pace with the growth of population, partly because of the appeal which they make to natural sympathy, and partly because of their

¹ Butler, N. C. C., 1906, p. 470 ff.; statistics, etc., p. 612 ff.

special interest for medical students. The development of convalescent homes and of the work of the visiting nurse should be rapidly extended, and the provision of both public and private sanatoria for tuberculous patients — as yet only just begun — with a capacity sufficient to meet the demand is of all recent charity movements the most important.

No consideration was given to institutions for the blind, deaf, and dumb in the chapter on the Defective Classes, because they are usually classed with the educational institutions of the State. But in so far as charitable assistance is necessary to keep such children in special schools, they are comparable with similar provisions for the epileptic and feeble-minded. There were in the 115 schools and homes for the deaf and blind in the United States on Dec. 31, 1904, 14,731 persons. Of the total cost of maintenance — \$3,523,683 — 65 per cent was expended by public institutions. Of these 115 institutions, eleven were for adults solely, and all but two of the eleven were maintained by private charity. A considerable number of the state schools for children have some provision also for adults.¹ As begging on the street is less and less tolerated, the untrained indigent blind are deprived of almost their sole means of livelihood. The task of training the indigent blind and deaf to handicrafts in childhood seems to be relegated to the State; but to find homes or remunerative employment for the adult seems likely to be left to private charity.²

Most of the classes of which we have treated in Part II. are fully dependent, and many of them are chronic cases. Except among dependent children and the temporarily sick, the cure of dependency is the exception rather than the rule. There is, however, throughout the whole country, and especially in the large cities, a vast amount of relief work

¹ Census, "Benevolent Institutions," 1904.

² Henderson, "Dependents," etc., p. 169 ff.

done by individuals, churches, and benevolent organizations which has for its particular purpose the saving of individuals and families from crossing the pauper line. Most of the work of the charity organization societies comes under this head. It is dealing with incipient dependency, attempting to treat the cases at an early stage of development so that they may not become chronic. Different individuals dealt with may belong to any of the classes for which special provision is now made, but at the critical time of their experience it is sought to give them aid that will save them from dependency. The work of private charities and of charity organization societies will be discussed in Part III. and Part IV.

Within the last quarter of a century there has grown up a large number of preventive, constructive, and reformatory agencies which are as truly benevolent as those we have already discussed, but which are not classified under the head of technical charities because they do not give direct material and institutional relief. The Charities Directory of each city contains a section devoted to such societies: societies for thrift, loans, and insurance; trade and industrial schools, schools for training immigrants in adaptation and assimilation; agencies for distributing immigrants; for the betterment of social conditions; for legal aid and protection; and, most important of all, settlements for every kind of neighborly coöperation. While there must necessarily be a limit to any discussion of technical charities, it is impossible to say where the field of charity ends and the field of social betterment begins; and in proportion as charitable agencies develop the preventive and constructive aspects of their work, the line of demarcation will be obliterated.

The differentiation and classification which have been the characteristic tendencies of all recent charity have brought to light more and more the need of improvements in our

judicial and punitive machinery. An insufficient police department and vulgar, corrupt, and ignorant police courts are the greatest hindrances that an active worker for the poor in many cities has to meet. No constructive work for the poor can be satisfactorily carried through until the system of lower courts, jails, and police procedure is reformed.

On reviewing what has been said regarding the dependent classes, we find that from the primitive institution, the almshouse hospital, or the hospital almshouse, there have developed a dozen or more special institutions for the care of the different classes of unfortunates. It is differentiation and intergradation analogous to that which has gone on in modern industry. If extended classification has resulted simply in a herding together of a large number of similarly defective persons who are treated as a class, fed as a class, drugged as a class, buried as a class, we have a specialization which eliminates human sympathy, and makes charity something mechanical and uncharitable. If, on the other hand, fuller classification has resulted in the fuller individualization of cases and the adaptation to each of the best agencies of modern science and modern sympathy for care and cure, then the development has been one not only toward wiser sympathy, but deeper sympathy, and has prepared the way for a fuller development of the changes already in progress. In other words, our modern highly differentiated methods of treating the dependent classes bring with them a possibility, but not a guaranty, of better service.

In the discussion of each dependent class, the final emphasis has been laid upon prevention. Each specialist has in turn reiterated it: the family on the verge of dependence must be restored, not broken up; the homeless child must be grafted into new family relations; the man out of work must not be permitted to become unemployable; the poor must be protected from contagion and bad sanitation that they may not be sick; the weak and defective must be

shielded from the world that there may be fewer weak in the time to come; and the unfit must no longer be allowed to reproduce their kind. If the first word of modern charity is: help every man promptly, intelligently, adequately, according to his individual need, the last is: prevent his children from falling into need.

PART III.

ADMINISTRATION AND FINANCIERING.



PART III.

ADMINISTRATION AND FINANCIERING.

CHAPTER XIV.

PUBLIC CHARITIES.

By "charities," as the term is used in the title of this chapter and in this volume, are meant all those institutions and agencies which give direct material aid to the poor as such. This leaves out of view all purely educational institutions, because the aid given is not material. According to English usage and according to legal usage in this country, an educational institution, unless supported by the fees of the pupils, is a "charity." The prominent American who asserted that a free soup-house and a free school are based upon the same principle, was wrong, because there are dangers inherent in the gifts of free food which do not inhere in the gift of free education. Benevolence may set aside the rule that if a man will not work, neither shall he eat; but not the rule that if a man will not study, neither shall he learn. The beneficiary can get no advantage without personal effort from free tuition; he is, therefore, not exposed in the same way as is the recipient of material relief to the danger of degradation.

In educational institutions for the defective classes, material relief, free boarding, and lodging is given to the pupils not able to pay, along with free tuition. This, in our opinion, makes such institutions charities to a certain extent, although they protest against being so classed, and wish to be considered purely educational. For administrative reasons, the supervision of them is usually given

to the State Board of Charities; but the educational element in their work so far overshadows the relief-giving element that they have only been incidentally referred to in this book.

The definition of charities given, while a little broader than some would wish it, is narrower than the general application of the term. For instance, strictly taken, it would exclude institutions for the care of the insane, where, as in Minnesota, any citizen is entitled to gratuitous treatment and care, irrespective of ability to pay. In such a case the poor are given direct material relief in the form of board and lodging and medicine, but they do not receive it as being indigent. The State relieves the insane as insane, not as poor. The same would apply to hospitals such as those recommended by Havelock Ellis, maintained for the treatment of all disease at the expense of the State. It applies, too, to those institutions for defectives in which tuition, including board and lodging, is absolutely free to all comers irrespective of ability to pay. But still it may be said that, whether ostensibly or not, it is the desire to relieve the poor that primarily influences legislation of this sort. Although the poor are not nominally relieved as such, yet in fact they are so, since they make up a very large proportion of those receiving gratuitous treatment. In other words, the charitable element in the institution has not been eliminated by being hidden, and the need of insisting upon this is that the dangers of direct material relief are not eliminated either. Those institutions that give board and lodging and all the care that this implies to their beneficiaries must be classed, for administrative purposes at least, as charities, and are so considered in the present volume.

By "public charities" is meant those institutions or agencies which are entirely controlled by the State in any of its branches, federal, State, county, township, or municipality. The distinction is a legal one, and is perfectly

simple. A public corporation is one existing under the authority of the State, and which the State can modify or abolish at will. Frequently great private charities, as Girard College or the Johns Hopkins Hospital, are spoken of as quasi-public institutions. They serve the public indeed, and the wealth which they administer might be considered as affected by a public use in the same sense as wealth owned by a railroad company; but their charters are contracts with the State and cannot be arbitrarily modified by it. By "public funds" are meant such funds as are derived from the revenues of the State in any of its branches. They are usually the proceeds of taxation.¹

There have been many searches for the principle upon which the State has acted and should act in taking upon itself work for the relief of the poor. In Europe, the Teutonic countries have usually guaranteed relief to all citizens, while the Latin countries have not done so; and yet this fundamental difference is not shown in any very great differences in the character of their relief-work. Those who have argued that to guarantee relief was fatal to the independence of a people, and would induce all to become paupers, have been shown that under proper administration this is not true; since the condition of the pauper, while he may be saved from starvation, can be made very much less agreeable than that of the independent workman.

Cunningham attributes the changing character of poor relief in modern times to the tendency of duties as they become common to become secularized; in proportion as the necessity and convenience of certain forms of relief are recognized, they are provided as a matter of course out of public taxation, thus leaving the philanthropist free to find new paths

¹ Alexander Johnson, in his article on "Some Incidentals of Quasi-public Charities," uses the term "public" in a sense somewhat different from that outlined for use in the text. There is one clear distinction between public and private institutions which can be made and ought continuously to be made.

by which he may benefit his fellow-men.¹ In this country the principle that underlies the assumption of relief-work by the State seems to be this: whenever a community has been educated up to such a point that it insists on a large amount of relief-work being done, and when the methods of doing it have been reduced to a routine, then the State is asked to undertake the work, and relieve private benevolence of the burden. This we have seen in the care of the insane, the education of the deaf and dumb and the blind, and the education of the feeble-minded. In the matter of caring for the epileptic and inebriate, it is only now becoming clear that the time has come for the State to take hold. Relief-work is adapted to administration by the State not only in proportion as it can be reduced to a routine, but in proportion as it requires very large expenditures for a considerable class to which all taxpayers can properly be asked to contribute. The State is not inventive, its agencies are not adaptable and inflexible; but it is capable of doing a large, expensive work when the methods for doing it are sufficiently elaborated. The administration of outdoor relief is dangerous for the State to undertake, for the simple reason that it never can be reduced to a routine.

The advantages of public support for charitable institutions are briefly as follows:—

1. The income can be absolutely depended upon, and may be made adequate. During an industrial depression there is no shrinking of revenue, as is sometimes the case in private charities, and an amount adequate to the work may always be reckoned upon.

2. There is greater publicity in a public institution. The records will ordinarily be fuller and more open to inspection. The press is freer to expose abuses. The checks of public opinion are consequently more easily applied. The whole aim and purpose of a public institution may be modified

¹ "History of English Industry," etc., *Modern Times*, p. 665.

whenever the people of a community see that modification is desirable. While not flexible in little things, — the small points of administration, — a system of public charities is frequently more susceptible of large adaptation than a system supported by endowments and private contributions.

3. Under a just system of taxation all persons are compelled to contribute according to their ability. The stingy man is not allowed to thrive at the expense of his benevolent neighbor. The law is primarily an agency for bringing up the laggards in the march of progress; and when the community on the average wants benevolent work done, this is the method of pushing forward those who hang back.

The chief disadvantages of public charity are the following: —

1. It is necessarily more impersonal and mechanical than private charity or individual action. There is less kindness on the part of the giver, and less gratitude on the part of the receiver; and yet many cases occur where those who have received aid from the State have done so with thankfulness and with a feeling of gratitude to the community as a whole for providing the means of relief.

2. There is some tendency to claim public relief as a right, and for the indolent and incapable to throw themselves flat upon it. This feeling will always assert itself whenever it is given an opportunity to do so. But it can be checked by making the pauper somewhat less comfortable than the man who is self-dependent.

3. In public charities, officialism is even more pronounced than under private management. The degradation of character of the man on a salary set to the work of relieving the poor is one of the most discouraging things in connection with relief-work, and it may be that public officials are especially likely to become hard and unsympathetic.

4. It is possible to do so much relief-work that, while one set of persons is relieved, another will be taxed across

the pauper line. Our own expenditures for charitable institutions have seldom reached the sums that make it possible to demonstrate the connection between the difficulties falling to the lot of the struggling, self-dependent members of the community and the increase of taxation for the benefit of the destitute. But under our chaotic system of taxation it is usually true that the burden of supporting the State tends to diffuse itself along the lines of the least resistance; consequently, money which is raised for the relief of the poor may come out of pockets that can ill spare it.

5. The final disadvantage of public institutions for the relief of destitution is the weightiest, at least in the United States. The disadvantage referred to is that the blight of partisan politics and gratuitously awkward administration often falls upon the work. City and county politics seem to degrade public charities even more than other branches of the local administration. Charitable institutions are spoils of an insignificant character, thrown frequently to the less deserving among the henchmen of the successful political bosses. The managing boards of the hospital and almshouse are not content with appointing the superintendent, and leaving the responsibility of minor appointments to him, but make a complete list of employees, and force the superintendent to accept them.

To supply their political supporters with places in institutions, is not the only motive actuating politicians who cling to the "spoils" of public charities. In the larger institutions the contracts for supplies involve large expenditures on which the favored contractors expect to make a high percentage. The placing of supply contracts affords an opportunity for the boss to throw business in the way of friends. There are many historic instances of political interference with the management of State institutions: politics abolished the State Board of Charities and Reform in

Wisconsin, and substituted the Board of Control with salaries for all members; in 1891 the Michigan School for Dependent Children was deprived of its board of control and placed with other institutions under a board of a different political complexion; the Blockley (Philadelphia) Almshouse exposure of 1881-1882 of a death-rate of 15 per cent and the embezzlement of \$150,000 of the appropriations by the superintendent; the scandal of the management of the Indiana Hospital for the Insane in 1887, where brutal treatment of patients and supplies far below the contract standard were the principal features; the removal on false charges of mismanagement and the secret trial of the superintendent and matron of the City and County Almshouse of San Francisco in 1897, and of the superintendent of the School for the Feeble-minded in California, — all these and many more might be cited as the fruits of the partisan system.

In recent years, Illinois and New York have furnished conspicuous illustrations. In 1901 Governor Yates of Illinois forced upon the State Board of Charities his own appointee as secretary, although the law was explicit in its provision that the Board should independently select its employees, and although the appointee had no experience in philanthropic administration. Two of the most competent members of the Board resigned, as a protest against using public charitable institutions for party ends.¹ Governor Odell, during his term of office, made revolutionary changes in the administration of the hospitals for the insane in New York and interfered with their internal affairs. The supervision and control of each State hospital had been in the hands of a local, unsalaried board of managers appointed by the Governor and under the supervision of the State Commission in Lunacy. The State was thus receiving the unpaid services of nearly a hundred "honor" officers who

¹ *Charities*, vol. vii., 1901, pp. 150, 152-155; vol. viii., pp. 532-537.

kept in close touch with the needs of the patients, and served as a check on supply contracts. By the Odell Lunacy Bill, as it was called, these boards were done away with, all the power concentrated in the Lunacy Commission at the Capitol, who were political appointees of the Governor, and who could do almost nothing of importance without the approval of the Governor. The welfare of 23,000 insane persons and the expenditure of nearly \$5,000,000 was thus transferred directly to the centralized political Commission at Albany. The justification offered for this procedure was "economy," but it subsequently appeared that it had been inaugurated for campaign purposes and that the saving was accomplished by reducing the clothes allowance of patients, by overcrowding them in large buildings instead of providing more cottages for proper classification, by reducing the number of attendants, and finally by actually reducing the food allowance of inmates below the physiological requirements. The result of Governor Odell's action was to rouse all classes of philanthropic workers; and in the following political campaign, non-partisan management of State charitable institutions became a political issue, and both candidates for governor were compelled to put themselves squarely on record in favor of the merit system.

The application of the civil service system to minor positions has progressed rapidly in recent years; and although there is still much difference of opinion among authorities as to its applicability to higher positions, the public is being educated to demand that all such appointments shall be made on the ground of fitness.

The administration of charities both here and abroad has been very greatly improved by the extension of the system of honor offices, in which no salary is paid the incumbent. The most efficient of the State Boards of Charity have members holding by this tenure. Where there are special

boards for local hospitals, almshouses, and other institutions, the directors are frequently of this class. The danger that these boards, whose principal function is to select the salaried superintendent of the institutions over which they have control, or, in the case of State boards, a salaried secretary, will degenerate into mere engines of the political boss, to be used by him in the distribution of spoils, is much less with unsalaried than with salaried boards; and their further functions of supervision and advisory interference with the management are usually more developed when the members receive no salary. It is generally found possible to secure for such service some of the best citizens in the community; and, where it is possible, it is usually better that men and women should serve jointly. Appointment seems, as a rule, to secure better members than election. The term of office should be of considerable length, the members going out in rotation.

Dr. Francis G. Peabody, as early as 1893, and Frederick Almy again in 1904, urged the employment of unpaid boards and volunteer visitors by public officials in behalf of public institutions.¹ The compulsory drafting of citizens into public charity service, as is done in Germany and other parts of Europe under the Elberfeld plan, may have many features not adaptable to American conditions, but the principle is nevertheless most valuable. Massachusetts already makes use of auxiliary unpaid visitors for the care of girls placed in families;² in New York the after-care of the insane has been organized by volunteer service, and in New York City the Department of Public Charities has made frequent use of the unpaid service of workers trained in private charities. But nowhere has any such extensive and systematic use been made of unpaid almoners as in German cities, where the districts are so small that not more than four paupers are in the care of one almoner. The development of friendly

¹ Almy, N. C. C., 1904, pp. 113 ff. ² Codman, N. C. C., 1904, pp. 126 ff.

visiting by the American Charity Organization Societies is unquestionably leading in this direction; and it is to be anticipated that public charities will soon avail themselves systematically of unsalaried agents for certain duties. Such service is, indeed, difficult to secure and to train, and often proves unreliable, but should be utilized because of the almost prohibitive cost of maintaining the ideal standard of administration, and perhaps, as a minor end, for the education of the public itself in those ideals.

In each commonwealth the fabric of the public charitable institutions rests upon the quicksands of the poor-law, which few study and fewer understand. It was said of the English poor-law, by the commission appointed to investigate its workings, that there was scarcely one statute connected with the administration of poor-relief which had produced the effect designed by the legislature, and that the majority of them had created new evils and aggravated those which they were intended to prevent. The same is substantially true in many of our own States, and especially in the older commonwealths, such as New York and Pennsylvania, where the legislatures have not been careful to repeal existing legislation when enacting new laws. The result is a tangle of statutes, which cannot be rationally interpreted because they have no rational basis. The courts construe them from time to time, because they must, and not because they know how. The fact that, after years of giving outdoor relief in Brooklyn, the whole system was decided to be illegal, shows the unsubstantial nature of the foundation upon which our system of poor-relief sometimes rests.

In the Eastern States, particularly in Massachusetts, the laws of settlement were formerly very complicated, and there grew up a class with no claim to public relief, comprising half the population of the State, and a great body of legal decisions on questions of settlement. The State Board of Charities succeeded in getting these laws modified

so that only one-fifth were non-settled residents. Outside of New England there are no inheritable settlements; residence, usually of one year, but in the newer States of only six months, determines the right to public relief, and in the Western States even this law is not observed.

A dependent passes from township to township, from county to county, and from State to State, expecting to be relieved wherever he happens to need relief. The looseness of the San Francisco almshouse, which has received a Canadian pauper direct from the vessel on which he came to the State, appears to be carrying the matter too far; but the alternative is not a return to a system of settlement laws like those formerly obtaining in Massachusetts. A well-administered system of charities—that is, a system which aims at cure as well as relief, and which succeeds in making the condition of the willing pauper much less satisfactory than that of the self-dependent man—will probably not attract people from any great distance. The cure for migration is in the proper administration of local charities, even in the case of the foisting of dependents upon one political unit by another.

As between States, the evil may be regulated by uniform settlement laws and some form of arbitration in disputed cases. The laws should be as nearly uniform as possible as to the length of time necessary to establish residence, and as to the return of non-residents to their place of legal settlement; and the power of arbitration may be lodged in any suitable State board, preferably in a State board of charities.¹ On the Pacific coast the migration of dependents is being regulated with the assistance of the railway companies. In San Francisco and Los Angeles, California, and in Phoenix, Arizona,—terminal points to which tramps and indigents are most apt to migrate,—the railway companies have placed the granting of all charity rates in the hands

¹ N. C. C., 1899, pp. 153 ff., gives a proposed uniform law.

of the Associated Charities. The international migration of paupers from Europe to America is now controlled by federal law, with the result that the relief problems incidental to immigration have been much diminished.¹

One of the most striking tendencies in public charities at the present time is the centralization of administration. It has grown partly out of the closer relation of communities to each other and partly from the fact that local institutions are more "in politics" and less well administered than State institutions.² In proportion as trained service and classification of dependents have been recognized as important, and as the merit system of appointments to office has gained acceptance, concentration of administration is seen to be essential.

Mr. Homer Folks, as the result of his experience as Commissioner of Public Charities in New York City, said:—

"We have, partly by tradition and partly by personal conviction, come to regard public institutions as being in the main, and generally speaking, inadequately supported, impersonal, and inelastic, unfit for experimentation and impervious to criticism."

Mr. Folks then shows that officials in charge of public charities must constantly compete with other powerful interests in obtaining appropriations, but that with proper backing from private citizens, adequate funds may be secured because no political party dare go to the polls with a record of insufficient care of the poor. In the matter of employees for public institutions, wherever it is in the hands of the Civil Service Commission, it is successful in preventing partisan removals; but in providing an eligible list it is unsatisfactory chiefly because the examinations are not prepared and carried out by men who have

¹ On the relief problem as affected by immigration, see *Charities*, vol. xii., 1904, special number 6.

² Committee Report, N. C. C., 1902, pp. 127 ff.; Fox, N. C. C., 1900, pp. 106 ff.

had experience in the work to be done. According to Mr. Folks, one of the chief difficulties of administration is the getting rid of incompetent employees, because the holding of such a position has come to be regarded as a sort of vested right.

That public institutions are impersonal and inelastic is frequently true; but not because they are public, — rather because they are big and have not been equipped with skilled service in proportion to the number of the inmates. Precisely the same complaint is justly made of great universities. Mr. Folks regards public institutions as well adapted for social experimentation, and cites the introduction of trained dietitians into public hospitals and social secretaries into hospitals for consumptives as successful experiments. Finally he shows that a public official cannot afford to resent criticism because the newspapers like the sensation and the public is ready to believe any charge of inefficiency. This is, in fact, one of the most hopeful things about public institutions; for public opinion, if rightfully handled, can control their administration.¹

The essential principles by which public charities should be administered may then be briefly summed up: they must be free from partisan influence and at the same time strictly accountable to State authority; the best-trained ability should be engaged in their management, supplemented by the finest unsalaried service the community affords; and they should, above all, be sustained by an intelligent public interest. Miss Julia C. Lathrop attributes the sustained excellence of the management of public charities in Massachusetts to the long roster of persons of distinguished ability devoting themselves to humanitarian effort; and quotes, as an example of what may be done, the Cook County (Illinois) Insane Asylum, which has been lifted from inefficiency to the highest standard by the power of public opinion.²

¹ Folks, N. C. C., 1904, pp. 134 ff.

² N. C. C., 1905, pp. 420 ff.

The enormous expense of elaborate State institutions has already driven officials to consider methods of economy in their administration. With the elimination of wasteful partisan influence and the employment of trained experts, the supplies will be more carefully bought and more economically used. The committee on hospital deficits in New York City at once discovered an enormous leakage in this direction; and the employment of such a dietary expert as Professor Atwater to set a proper food standard for the insane hospitals in New York State has already been of great advantage. The common methods of public economy—a horizontal reduction of expenses and refusal to carry out imperative reforms—are both brutal and wasteful. It is to be hoped that the pressure of large expenditures will more and more force attention to the economy of the prevention of dependence.

CHAPTER XV.

PRIVATE CHARITIES.

PRIVATE charities are those that in their management are independent of the authority of the State, although like private individuals they may be subject to its general police and supervisory powers. A private charity may receive public money in the form of a subsidy, or from the proceeds of legacies or endowments, or from voluntary contributions; but we concern ourselves here chiefly with the last-mentioned method of obtaining money.

We have already referred in Chapter I. to the influence of the ancient and mediæval church in securing the bestowal of alms. The art of inducing men to give has been practised ever since charity began, and at all times one of its most constant features has been religious or ecclesiastical influence.¹ At the present time the church is still a most powerful agent in inducing people to give. Whether charities are identified with any particular denomination or not, it is usually, though of course not uniformly, the people of the churches that support them; and of all the churches the one that probably induces the largest amount of giving in proportion to the means of those who give is the Roman Catholic. The religious orders of the Roman Catholic Church are exceptional in the amount of personal service contributed to the care of the poor.² But in the gift of both

¹ In 1903, one-third of the benevolent institutions listed in the special census report, *i.e.* hospitals, day nurseries, permanent and temporary homes for adults and children, were under ecclesiastical control.

² See Baluffi, Uhlhorn, and Brace.

personal service and money the Jews are perhaps more systematic and more liberal than either Roman Catholics or Protestants.

Of Protestant denominations, there are few in the large cities, where destitution is a problem, that have not done something for the care of the poor. Preventive and educational work, originally chiefly undertaken by the Unitarians, is now carried on by most denominations. The great hospitals are likely to be supported by whatever denomination has the largest wealthy membership in any large city. An unfortunate feature of the work of American churches is interdenominational competition, which induces many of them to develop their charities as engines of church extension. This can be, and sometimes has been, carried too far, but the condition of things does not seem to be worse than in countries having a single church, where ecclesiastical orders within the church compete one with another.

The development by secular charities of more careful, thorough, and sympathetic methods of relief has of late placed the churches at great disadvantage in dispensing relief to any except their own members. Many churches have practically no poor members and few of them have trained agents to give relief and comfort to the needy in homes. Those congregations which are compelled to give a large amount of relief have generally adopted modern methods, but there is at present no organized system of relief giving in any Protestant denomination.

It has been questioned by philanthropists of great experience whether relief by churches should not be discontinued altogether. It has been pointed out that it is subject to the same abuse and the same disadvantages as public outdoor relief and as indiscriminate almsgiving. Some clergymen even have taken the position that the churches are intended only for worship and for religious fellowship, and not for giving material aid.

Professor Devine has said that while some churches have adopted discriminating methods and have coöperated with other benevolent agencies, the majority pursue an antiquated and short-sighted policy, giving relief from sentimental motives without personal knowledge of its effects and oftentimes in the hope of making converts.¹ Professor Henderson, on the contrary, thinks religious charity has a great advantage; for, if wisely conducted, it goes deepest into the spirit; but he acknowledges the same dangers described by Professor Devine and proposes coöperation of the churches with the Charity Organization Societies as a remedy.²

The Church District Plan in Buffalo furnishes the best illustration of a definite scheme of coöperation between a charity organization society and the churches.

“The plan proposed to divide the city into districts, each district to be assigned to a church. The churches accepting a district agreed to care for every family not otherwise cared for by an individual, organization, or other church. When a family needing care had a definite church connection, that church was to be asked to provide the necessary visitor and such needed material relief as it could afford, calling on the society for the rest. If the family had no responsible church connection, it was to be referred to the church district which had agreed to provide a friendly visitor to work with the society, and such material relief as it could afford. Furthermore, each church accepting a district pledged itself to feel a special responsibility for the moral elevation of its district, through friendly visiting to referred families and such other agencies as settlements, clubs, classes, etc., as it could establish.”³

The results of this plan, undertaken in 1895, have been most satisfactory; in 1906, 120 churches had assumed charge of districts, and from them 438 families received responsible care, and many of the churches have opened settlements and social centres. The Charity Organi-

¹ “Principles of Relief,” pp. 74-75, 325.

² Henderson, “Dependents,” etc., p. 147.

³ Report of the Assistant Secretary, 1906, pp. 21-22.

zation Society, which formerly had difficulty in obtaining friendly visitors, now has 165; the overlapping of church and charitable aid has been checked, and constructive social work has been stimulated. The plan has afforded an opportunity to educate the churches doing less intelligent work; and finally it has produced a high degree of understanding and coöperation between the active churches and the society. It should be added that the society receives and supervises the reports of the visitors, and if it finds any of them neglectful or unqualified, removes the family from their care. Other cities, particularly Boston, report a large amount of coöperation between the churches and the Associated Charities. It seems probable that as individual members of churches become familiar with modern charity methods, and as clergymen receive in theological seminaries proper training in charities and other lines of applied sociology, some of the objections to ecclesiastical charity will be removed, and it will become less and less sectarian. The United Hebrew Charities throughout the country, whose charitable methods might serve as models for the benevolent work of other religious bodies, endeavor to take care of all their own poor, but do not exclude other poor from the benefits of many of their institutions. At the same time their individual members are often most liberal contributors to every sort of constructive work undertaken by persons of other religious views.¹

Next after religious influence, pure and simple, the most powerful of the secondary motives that induce men to give money for charitable purposes is possibly social influence. Many of the large charities of our cities are officered, so far as boards of management are concerned, by fashionable or otherwise influential people; and to contribute to the charities of the locality is one of the means by which social advancement is secured. A long chapter might be written on

¹ Frankel, *Annals*, etc., vol. xxi., 1903, pp. 389 ff.

the methods of raising money for charities by means of balls, entertainments, oyster suppers, and other devices for inveigling money from the pockets of those who would not otherwise contribute the same amounts. Such enterprises must be judged each on its own merits. The end does not justify the means; the means must justify themselves. A lottery is pernicious, though managed by a church for the benefit of a charity. A voting contest is usually vulgar and mischievous in its results, no matter what institution may be the beneficiary. Ostentation and extravagance at a charity ball are just as condemnable as at any other place, possibly more so. Wheedling and teasing are no more pleasant for a charitable purpose than for any other. On the other hand, any occasion which has sufficient results in instruction or healthful social recreation to justify the expense is justified irrespective of its motive.

The matter of financiering methods in private charities has recently been widely discussed, chiefly because as charities have become more business-like and have engaged the interest of larger numbers of intelligent and self-respecting people, the old methods of teasing, wheedling, even holding up those who were thought to be able to give, have become wholly distasteful. However worthy a charity may be, none of the people connected with it now wish to do the begging for it. It is often said that a charity doing good work should receive the spontaneous support of the community, and it may do so if it is picturesque and touching, or widely advertised; but as a matter of fact some of the most useful charities have none of these spectacular qualities, and appeal to the intelligence more than to the emotions. If the work for crippled children or abandoned babies is emotionally presented, money can easily be obtained; but a community has to be slowly educated to support a charity organization society or preventive measures against tuberculosis.

The difficulty in securing regular and sufficient support

created a demand for skilled solicitors who could be paid a commission for their work and relieve the charitable management of a disagreeable task. The people willing to do this work were, however, generally unsatisfactory; the professional business solicitor, who would undertake the work, was usually a type of person without knowledge or sympathy with the charity which he expected to promote, often by methods discreditable to the work. The unprofessional solicitor—some superannuated clergyman or charity worker—lacked the vigor and experience in business enterprise necessary to success. And in either case the solicitor was likely to receive a disproportionate share of the proceeds. The task of presenting the claims of a charity, even a perfectly worthy one, to people beset with many solicitations of a similar sort, does, in fact, require a high order of business ability and great personal self-sacrifice; and commonly those fitted for it prefer to give themselves more directly to some form of social service.

The payment of a salary instead of the commission and the title of financial secretary, making the collector a member of the active staff of the society, has, in some cases, enlisted the service of persons who were competent to represent it and to educate the benevolent to give regularly and intelligently.

It is not more certain that there are large sums seeking investment in ordinary industry than it is that there are large sums which the holders would gladly give for the promotion of the public good, if they could find ways of bestowing such sums that they were sure would result in helpfulness. In order to obtain possession of a portion of this really large fund, which is intelligently given or intelligently withheld, the managers of a charity must not only do thoroughly good work, but must contrive to let it be known that they are doing such work. The methods of philanthropic advertising, using the word "advertising" in a distinctly hon-

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orable sense, must be varied according to the psychology of the givers. The best introduction that a charity can have to the benevolent people of the community is the gradual diffusion from one intelligent person to another of the opinion that the charity is in fact doing something that is worth while. Beyond this, most of the non-sectarian charities and those operating under the guidance of Protestant denominations issue annual reports. (As a rule, it does not pay a society to economize by a failure to publish such a report. In order to reach the most influential members of the community, it must be well prepared, well printed, and discreetly distributed. Many societies publish their own condemnation in their annual reports, and many more fail to publish anything that commends them to the intelligent part of the community. The perpetual re-using of stereotyped phrases, the filling up a report with the cant of philanthropy, and having the reports year in and year out substantially in the same form, from which the essential facts regarding efficiency are omitted, brands the society as unprogressive and unsatisfactory.)

In addition to the annual reports, a great many societies issue circulars, and even periodicals, explaining their work as it develops. The daily and weekly press is frequently not as wisely used as it might be. What the daily press wants is news ; and there is usually, or at least there should be, a considerable amount of news about the development of any large charity. To offer this in a way that makes it available for the daily press, is to offer exactly the material which will do the most good when printed. It is of no advantage to a newspaper, nor to an institution, to print a " lot of gush " about some charity. The editor does not want it for the simple reason that he knows it will not be read ; and

¹ Catholic charities very rarely publish reports, unless required to do so because they receive public money or for some similar reason. An exception is the Society of St. Vincent de Paul.

if he inserts it at all, it is under personal pressure and although he is conscious that its insertion is a mistake. There is, moreover, no more reason why a charitable society should not pay for advertising space in which to present its needs than a State university. If charity items were offered strictly as news, and advertising paid for, the editors of general newspapers would be more inclined to promote really important charitable enterprises in their editorials, and the general public would be better informed.

In scanning the contributors' list of a number of societies, it becomes apparent that the burden of voluntary charity falls on a very small number of givers and that there is a large portion of the public able to give, whose names do not appear. The rich man is besieged with the claims of many charities, the moderately well off not infrequently gives to only one or two and by no means to the extent of his capacity or his duty. This again results in an unequal distribution of the funds among worthy charities. To obviate these injustices and inequalities, as well as to use the funds most judiciously, many of the Federations of Jewish Charities act as a financial committee to pass upon the budget, collect the funds, and redistribute them to all the charities coöperating in the plan. The contributor may designate where his money shall go, or he may give it to the general fund which is distributed according to the needs of the charity budgets.¹

A similar system has been in operation in Liverpool, with satisfactory results for thirty years, and exists in a modified form in a few American cities.² In the case of the Jewish Charities the adoption of the plan has resulted in a very large increase of revenue. The operation of any such plan involves a decision as to what charities should receive contributions. In San Francisco, a method has been devised to induce the public, and especially business men, to give

¹ N. C. C., 1907.

² Denver, Colorado; Lynn, Massachusetts.

only to such institutions and charities as are endorsed by an expert committee. The Charities Endorsement Committee is made up of representatives from the Merchants' Association, the Associated Charities, and the Charities at Large, and its secretary is the secretary of the Associated Charities. The Committee investigates all charitable enterprises applying to it for endorsement, and issues an official card to those doing honest and efficient work. The members of the Merchants' Association, representing a majority of the moneyed men of the city, refused to give unendorsed charities, and the general public is being slowly educated to do likewise. The plan, while rousing the resentment of all fraudulent charities and of many that were far behind the demands of modern philanthropy in their standards, has proved successful in driving the former from the city, and in inducing many of the latter to make an effort to meet the requirements. The Merchants' Association approve it heartily as relieving them of a horde of solicitors, and the endorsed charities as giving them a recognition which is their due. But its chief value lies probably in the intimate knowledge obtained of the charities of the city. The disclosure that three child-placing societies could not be endorsed, has resulted in the establishment of a Children's Placing-out Agency of the best type, which is supported jointly by fourteen orphanages and supervised by the Associated Charities. So far as finance is concerned, the Charities Endorsement Committee at present has no machinery for collecting and disbursing funds, although such a feature was a part of the original plan.

In the chapter on the Destitute Sick, it has already been shown that the hospitals of New York were found to be greatly in need of more business-like methods of bookkeeping, and a more effective presentation of their work and their needs than the ordinary annual report afforded. In summing up the matter of support for charities, the first requirement is that the society shall be sound, progressive, and positive;

and the second, that it shall present its budget in a simple and perfectly intelligible manner; thirdly, the public must be educated by a steady campaign of legitimate advertising, carried on by a committee of interested public men, perhaps with a salaried financial secretary. The general public has a right to know what is done with the money which it gives, and in proportion as it does know it will be interested to give more. For the support of small charities it is a mistake to depend chiefly upon a few rich people, who have many other claims upon them. A large body of well-to-do persons, if kept interested, are more reliable and more useful because they diffuse a knowledge of the work among their friends. Uninterested contributors are of much less value than interested ones because they are less likely to renew subscriptions and to advertise the work.

In order to commend the work of a charity to the favor of the most intelligent part of a community, it is essential that no attempt should be made to do the work too cheaply. "Cheap and nasty" is a phrase that can be applied to charities as well as to merchandise. Just as a physician cannot afford to begin practice without a proper preparation for his work, and without the facilities in the way of library, instruments, and office that are necessary in order to do his work well, so a charity will not, even from the financial side, find it wise to undertake to do for seven thousand dollars a work that can only properly be done for ten thousand. It is usually easier to manage the finances of a society that insists on having a revenue adequate to the work that it is doing — that would, in fact, go out of existence rather than proceed otherwise — than it is to manage the finances of a society that consents to half do its work because of an inadequate income.

The advantages of private charities over public ones are that they afford on the average a somewhat larger share of personal sympathy, that their benefits cannot logically be

claimed as a right (although they often are), that they do not oppress the poor by increasing taxation, and that they are supposed to bring a somewhat smaller degree of degradation to the recipient of relief. Private charities are especially useful along lines of philanthropic experimentation. People with ideas in advance of those of the general community can find through them an opportunity to experiment, and, by results, to satisfy the community as a whole of the need and of the possibility of doing a certain work; but they are not suited to the administration of large funds, and the doing of a large volume of work, unless they are made amenable to State regulation.

The managers of private charities, while not always resenting supervision, do not invite it; but it seems obvious that amounts given for such purposes are trust funds which should be accounted for as other trust funds are required to be by law. There is no question that private charities receiving public subsidies should be supervised by State authority, but the reasons in the case of those receiving subscriptions are not so patent. When it is remembered that many of the beneficiaries are ignorant or helpless, it seems clear that the State should exercise its police powers to protect them at least as much as it does ordinary citizens.¹

A second reason lies in the fraud and imposture which often masquerades as charity. Among many illustrations may be cited that of a charming and plausible woman who collected large sums of money in Chicago and San Francisco for several years for a children's nursery and for an orphan asylum. The orphan asylum, when investigated, was a lonely country house containing four neglected children, and the money collected for the nursery would have cared for three times the number of children that were kept for show purposes in the city. Even when no imposture is intended,

¹ Hart, N. C. C., 1902, pp. 130 ff.

the "goodness fallacy" — the fallacy that virtue is all the qualification required to run a benevolent enterprise — leads to ill-managed, dreary, and niggardly charities which are far worse for the victims than even the indifferent public institution. The demand for State regulation of private charities is rapidly strengthening, and at the present time about one-half the States require supervision by some board, generally the Board of Charities, with various degrees of power by inspection, license, and control.

Finally, the line of demarcation between the field of public and private charity seems to lie between those dependents requiring some degree of control, and those that may be allowed their freedom; between measures for chronic dependents and those looking to prevention; between institutional care on a large scale and private aid to the needy in their homes. Generally speaking, private charity is best fitted to conditions where much personal, individual sympathy is required; public charity, to problems requiring large funds, equipment, and control. Finally, private charity, under the stimulus of some individual enthusiast, will mark out new paths, which when proven may be adopted by the State. Nevertheless as the fields become more defined, there appears a tendency toward coöperation between the most enlightened public and the most progressive private charity which should eventually produce better results than have hitherto been possible.

CHAPTER XVI.

ENDOWMENTS.

WHEN those who support a charity find it difficult to raise the funds they need, and are weary with unsuccessful applications for contributions; when they dislike to turn to the public treasury because of the stigma attaching to public relief, their wish is apt to be that their charity were adequately endowed. Then, they think, they could give their whole time to the administration of the funds, instead of giving so much of it to securing funds. It seems as though their hands would be free for very large usefulness, and the benefits of the institution might be indefinitely extended. It consequently happens that the annual reports of nearly every charitable association which is supported by voluntary contributions contain, in a conspicuous place, a form of bequest by means of which any one so inclined may, without inconvenience, insert a provision in his will, leaving property to this particular charity.

There is a feeling in the community that one who leaves his wealth to charity has done a commendable thing, and, therefore, nothing is done to discourage charitable endowments in the older States of the Union, where they tend to accumulate rapidly. Yet no other country has ever permitted entire freedom in the granting of charitable bequests without finding, in the course of years, that too much wealth was coming to be too injudiciously administered by the "dead hand."

As an example of what a country comes to with the lapse of time, we may turn to England. The great endowments

of the monasteries, with their dole-giving features, were secularized by Henry VIII. at the time of the Reformation. The opinion has already been cited that the property was of more use in the hands of dissolute favorites of the king than in that of the monks. Bequests of land were strictly limited by subsequent legislation, and endowments for superstitious uses were forbidden, and in many ways the power of bequests was greatly restricted; but when Lord Brougham, among his many other agitations during the first quarter of the nineteenth century, got a commission to investigate endowed charities, it was found to be a gigantic task even to enumerate them. The commission worked from 1818 to 1837; and the results of this research were published in 38 folio volumes, consisting of some 25,000 pages, describing 28,820 charities, with an aggregate income of £1,200,000, compiled at a cost of more than a quarter of a million. A general digest of this great report was published in 1867–1876 by the Charity Commissioners. The gross income from endowments as given in this register was:—

From land	£1,558,251
From personalty	640,213
Total	<u>£2,198,464</u>

The land held by them included 523,311 acres. The income was devoted to the various forms of charity in the following proportion:—

Education	£666,863
Apprenticing and advancement	87,865
Clergy and lecturers	90,843
Church purposes	112,895
Nonconformist churches and ministers	38,832
Parochial and other public uses	66,875
Almshouses and pensions	552,119
Medical hospitals and dispensaries	199,140
Distribution amongst the poor	383,029

The income included no estimate of the prospective in-

crement in the lands held by the charities, nor upon the buildings and other leases, nor of the values of the land and buildings kept for occupation as charitable premises. The universities, some large school foundations, and cathedral foundations were also omitted; and a considerable number of charities probably escaped enumeration.¹

The proper administration of such a great block of wealth as this is manifestly of the utmost importance to the community. The English Charity Commission, created in 1853, has the power to require statements and accounts of endowments and within limits to alter the use of ineffective foundations.²

In the United States there are special dangers in laxness in this matter, by reason of the provision of our federal Constitution which forbids States to pass laws impairing the obligation of contracts. This makes it especially difficult for us to modify the system that is now developing. In England, whenever Parliament sees fit to change the administration of an endowment, or even to sequester its revenue for other purposes than those of the testator, it has power to do so; but that is out of the question with the State legislatures in this country. If a charitable establishment has a charter in which the State has not reserved the right to amend or repeal it, then, under the Dartmouth College decision, that charter is a contract with the State, which cannot be altered without the consent of the corporation.³

¹ Kenny, "Endowed Charities," pp. 135 ff.

² Lathrop, N. C. C., 1905, p. 433.

³ The Dartmouth College decision was reported in 4 Wheat. 516 *et seq.*; also in 1 N. H. 111. The legislature of New Hampshire had attempted to modify the corporation of Dartmouth College by changing the number of its trustees and in other ways. The Supreme Court of the State decided that this was possible without the consent of the old Board of Trustees. The Supreme Court of the United States reversed the decision, holding that the charter was a contract between the State and the corporation, and could not be altered without the consent of the latter, on account of

It is better, as any one must see on reflection, to make proper rules for the regulation of bequests at the beginning, rather than to be compelled to remove a mountain of abuses after they have accumulated. Owners of property frequently feel as if they had a "natural right" to provide for its bestowal in perpetuity. But why people should expect to be allowed to manage their property after they are dead and can no longer use it themselves, it is hard to see; and it is even harder to see why a community should think itself bound to accord them the privilege that is to make them legislators in perpetuity, regarding the disposition of a certain amount of wealth, which they happen at the time of death to possess. It is felt perhaps that the person who leaves money to charity acts only from commendable motives, and that his will should therefore be respected. But even if it were true that he acted from good motives, it should be remembered that the good intentions of the donor do not insure conscientiousness and wisdom in the executors of a trust, nor the adaptation of the trust to the needs of changing generations.

the provision of the federal Constitution which forbids any legislature to pass laws impairing the obligation of contracts. Art. I., Sec. 10. The decision has been extensively undermined in the case of railroads and other corporations considered to be of a quasi-public nature, by the ruling in *Munn vs. Illinois*, in which it was held that the legislature had the power to regulate the administration of property affected by a public use. Later decisions have modified this by giving to courts the right to say what "regulation" is "reasonable." So far as eleemosynary corporations are concerned, the Dartmouth College decision has not been modified to any appreciable extent; but it has been rendered nugatory for corporations created since the time it came to be appreciated, by the insertion in a large number of State constitutions of the provision that all charters granted under general or special acts shall be subject to amendment or repeal by the State. This makes the power of amendment or repeal a reservation on the part of the State included in the contract. Whether the decision of the Supreme Court of the United States was good law or not, it was certainly a mistake from an economic standpoint. As Cooley says in effect, it has been found that there is less danger in granting to legislatures the power of amendment and repeal of charters, than there is in giving to legislatures power to grant charters which are irrevocable.

But the motives of the donor are by no means always commendable, and are of as varied and sometimes as doubtful character as those leading to other human actions. Love of power, ostentation and vanity, superstition, and even spite, play a not unimportant part in determining the disposition of property.

"An appreciable number of men," says Hobhouse, "and perhaps more women, especially those who are childless and have been teased by expectant legatees, are on bad terms with their relatives. Now, the only way to disinherit your legal heirs is to give your property to some one else; what, then, so obvious as to give it to charity? . . . As in other departments of life, so in this, the vulgar are influenced by vulgar motives. If a man makes his gift by will, *i.e.* out of other people's pockets instead of his own; if we find him stipulating for benefits to his own soul; making provisions to perpetuate his own name or arms or tomb; devising solemn oaths to deter men from altering his arrangements; in such cases, whatever fine words he may have used, we may be sure he was really thinking more of himself than of his fellow-creatures."¹

But even when the motive is philanthropic or public-spirited, when it is intended to provide for a class whose interests are neglected or to return to a locality some of the fruits of the resident donor's prosperity, its terms are frequently so rigid and narrow that it shortly ceases to have any vital relation to existing needs. An endowment providing for the ransom of the captives of the North African pirates may have benefited some individuals for a time after it was made, but to provide for a similar expenditure in perpetuity was an absurdity. An endowment for superannuated wool-carders continued to support warden and bedesmen long after wool-carding had ceased to be an occupation in England. An endowment made in 1683 for seven poor old men of the Protestant religion in the Asylum of the County of Cork, who had been soldiers and were

¹ Hobhouse, pp. 15 ff.; Fitch, "Endowments," pp. 20-21; Allen, "Efficient Democracy," pp. 308-317.

unable to work, is handed down to a time when sufficient Protestant soldiers cannot be found in Cork to exhaust the income, of the charity, and there is at present an accumulated fund of £2300. There is a fund in Stirling worth £5400 a year, which was given when certain trades and crafts possessed a monopoly in the town, for the indigent members of these guilds. The income of the charity became so great that it was distributed among the members of the guild irrespective of poverty and even of residence. In 1869 it was found that of the 412 members, 369 were recipients of the charity, and some of them were soldiers in Australia. Endowments for teaching children to card, spin, and knit, or for the supply of spinning-wheels, are of small use at the present time.¹ It has been found that in many parishes in England rents are increased by the fact that those who live in these particular parishes can obtain doles from the great endowments. As a consequence, a pauper population is attracted to the place, and the poor-law rates are higher than where there are no endowments at all.

Many dole-giving endowments have also been established in the United States which are having, in so far as their extent makes it possible, exactly the same influence.² A glance at the condition of public trust funds amounting to \$800,000 in a single Eastern city will illustrate many of the objections to which such bequests are open : —

Two funds to provide for Thanksgiving and holiday dinners for the *Protestant Poor*, especially for unmarried women.

A pension fund for "poor, worthy, Protestant single women over 50 years old."

¹ Kenny, "Endowed Charities," pp. 160 ff.

² In San Francisco a swarm of widows with children is drawn to the mayor's office every year to get a share in an annual allowance of about \$2000 to be distributed among them from the proceeds of an endowment. Those who are successful receive about \$2 each, and every one who applies for the dole is inevitably degraded.

A fund for Protestant widows and single women "without distinction of color."

A fund for the "nurture and instruction of poor orphans and deserted children."

A fund to provide tea, coffee, and chocolate for the inmates of the almshouse.

A number of pension funds for persons (generally Protestants) over 50 years of age.

The ill-advised character of many foundations, which nevertheless appeal superficially to the feelings of generous people, is illustrated by the home for prisoners' children recently projected in New York. It is not only undesirable to bring prisoners' children together, where the brand of the parents' disgrace would always be upon them, but there were already available homes and institutions where this might be forgotten. Or it might be illustrated by a recent bequest of several millions for "the worthy poor," with very strict condition of residence, in a Western city where there is practically no poverty except that resulting from sickness (chiefly tuberculosis), and where a sanatorium is the desperate need of the community. A paragraph from an article contributed by Turgot to the French "Encyclopedie" in 1757 sets forth strikingly the difficulties that must be encountered by one who tries to be wise for all time to come:—

"The testator," he says, "is apt to be ignorant of the nature of the problem he desires to solve and of the best way of solving it. He is seldom gifted with a wise foresight of the future and of its wants. He puts into his deed of gift theories, projects, and restrictions which are found by his successors to be utterly unworkable. He seeks to propagate opinions which posterity disbelieves and does not want. He takes elaborate precautions against dangers which never arise. He omits to guard against others which a little experience shows to be serious and inevitable. He assumes that his own convictions and his own enthusiasm will be transmitted to subsequent generations of trustees and governors, when, in fact, he is only placing in their way a sore temptation, at best to negligence and insincerity, at worst to positive malversation and corruption."

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respective of the motives or the wisdom of testators, endowments are not likely to accomplish as much good as is expected of them, because the character of boards of management is not all that could be desired, and because of a tendency to officialism, which develops when any society finds its economic existence assured. Boards of management are usually coöptative, and tend to be made up of old persons, often not particularly wise or progressive in the administration of the funds given to them. As a consequence, the character of efficient societies not infrequently declines when they become considerably endowed. The managers often regard the work as nobody else's business, they ignore public opinion, private charity is checked, and the society atrophies.¹ In some instances the expenses of administration eat up the greater part of the income. While this is not the worst possible result, it still indicates a waste of the income.²

The foregoing discussion and illustrations lead to a few clear principles which should guide legislation and educate public opinion in the matter of bequests.

1. Endowments should be somewhat strictly regulated

¹ Allen, "Efficient Democracy," pp. 301-302, 306-308.

² Girard College is frequently quoted as an example of extravagance in the administration of a charitable trust. At this college, which is really an industrial school for boys, several millions have been spent on the construction of buildings which are of white marble. "The central or main building is the finest specimen of pure Greek architecture in America." In 1907 there was expended \$526,452 for an average of 1521 boys in attendance. By comparison of these figures with those of the great universities, it will be seen that an enormous amount of money is invested in the education of comparatively few boys. One of the absurdities likely to cluster about endowments is found in connection with Girard College. No minister of any sect is ever to be admitted within the premises, as the founder wished to "keep the tender minds of the orphans who are to derive advantage from this bequest free from the excitement which clashing doctrines or sectarian controversy are apt to produce." — Alden, "History of Child Saving," pp. 70-75; Johnson, *Charities Review*, vol. i., pp. 156-157.

by law. The present law declares bequests invalid for superstitious or immoral purposes — a limitation established at the time of the Reformation to prevent perpetual payments for prayers for the dead. At the present time, indiscriminate doles might also be prohibited. As the problems of poor relief are worked out, there should be some authority to pass upon the wisdom of endowments before they may be made.

2. There should be supervision — by the State Board of Charities where one exists — of endowed societies and institutions in operation. This is necessary to prevent abuse and neglect of inmates and misapplication and extravagance in the use of funds.

3. Such provision as may be possible under the constitution should be made for the revision of endowments. Growth of knowledge and changes in politics, religion, and social life leave old endowments that are useless, even harmful, and there should be authority for revising them.

Limitations upon the powers of testators will not lessen the amount that is given in charity eventually. They may keep a man whose motive is vanity, who is set in his own way and wishes to perpetuate his own will, from giving money to charities, because he will see that public officials may interfere with his plans or whims. But those whose aim in leaving wealth is to benefit their fellows will look upon it as an advantage that, if their ideas are found not to be sound with the passage of years, there will be public authorities having power to modify and make useful their bequests. Dr. Fitch relates the following story of Sir Josiah Mason, the founder of Science College, Birmingham : —

“ I said to him then, ‘ Are you not afraid of leaving such large bequests to posterity when you see the modern tendency to overhaul and revise the wills of founders ? ’ He replied, ‘ That is the very reason why I feel such confidence in leaving these sums of money ; if it were not that public authorities are likely to be vigilant, and to correct any

mistake that I make, and to take care to keep these institutions in full working efficiency, I should feel very much hesitation in leaving such large sums to my successors.' It was in this spirit that in the following year, 1870, he introduced into his deed of foundation for the Science College this provision : ' Provided, always, that it shall be lawful for the said Josiah Mason at any time during his life, and after his decease for the trustees, within two years after the expiration of every successive period of fifteen years, to alter or vary the trusts or provisions herein contained in all or any of the following particulars.' Then he enumerates every one of the particulars, except the general object of the foundation, namely, the improvement of scientific instruction." ¹

It is in such a spirit as this that some of the largest recent bequests to education and charity have been made in this country. As a single illustration may be mentioned the Russell Sage Foundation of ten million dollars, established in 1907 "for the improvement of social and living conditions in the United States of America." The methods by which this purpose is to be accomplished are left to the trustees, who comprise some of the foremost philanthropists in the country. Endowments conceived with such breadth and benignity, if used wisely, with sympathy and proper safeguards, may escape the dangers of "the brutal power of concentrated wealth" which are ever present in these vast accumulations.

The very catholicity and intelligence of these exceptional endowments suggest that what is further needed is a campaign of education in the giving of charitable bequests such as has been quietly carried on for some years in the sphere of education by the Association of Collegiate Alumnae. When every donor can be persuaded not to impose any condition beyond a temporary period, — at most twenty-five years, — and to take the advice of active charity workers on the needs of the time and locality, endowments may cease to be a burden and a menace.

¹ Fitch, "Endowments," etc.

CHAPTER XVII.

PUBLIC SUBSIDIES TO PRIVATE CHARITIES.

WHEN contributions are hard to get, when fairs and balls no longer net large sums, and when endowments are slow to come, the managers of private charities frequently turn to the public authorities and ask for a contribution from the public revenues. On the other hand, when State legislatures see the annual appropriation bills increasing too rapidly, and when they see existing public institutions made political spoils, and the administration wasteful and inefficient, they are apt to approve of giving a subsidy to some private institution, instead of providing for more public buildings and more public officials.

This problem of granting or of not granting public subsidies to private charitable corporations is analogous to the problem of public *versus* sectarian schools on the one hand, and of governmental control of private business corporations on the other — allied to both but identical with neither. It is related to the school question not only because the care of dependent and delinquent children by sectarian institutions involves their education in the faith of a particular sect, but because there is reason to believe that the subsidizing of sectarian charities has been resorted to with the conscious purpose of evading the laws that forbid public aid to sectarian schools. It is related to the problem of governmental control of private corporations, not only by the fact that the legal questions involved are frequently the same, but by the fact that the methods used by eleemosynary corporations to secure public subsidies are often not unlike those used by money-making corporations to secure legislative favors.

The States most largely committed to the subsidy or contract system are shown in the following table: —

TABLE LXVII.
SUBSIDIES TO PRIVATE CHARITIES, 1901.*

STATES GRANTING LARGEST AMOUNTS.	STATE SUBSIDIES GRANTED.	OTHER STATE AID.	LOCAL SUBSIDIES GRANTED.	OTHER LOCAL AID, AMOUNT NOT REPORTED.
Vermont	\$54,000	Yes	\$2,000	Yes
Connecticut	101,750		24,500	Probably
New York	235,000		3,410,000	Large
Pennsylvania	5,700,000		153,500	
Maryland	96,000		185,000	
District of Columbia . .	...		200,000	
North Carolina	35,000		6,200	Probably
California	410,000		...	

* Condensed from Fetter's table, *Am. Jour. of Soc.*, vol. vii., 1901, No. 8, p. 868. New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Delaware, Kansas, and Oregon give State aid in small amounts; and 19 States give local aid in small amounts. Compare this table with Table LXI. on page 298, of subsidies to children's institutions only.

It is seen from this table that Pennsylvania, New York, California, and the District of Columbia give the largest amounts in subsidies to private charitable institutions. A review of the facts regarding State aid in these localities will serve as a basis for the discussion of the advantages and dangers of the system.

On Feb. 2, 1893, while the Senate of the United States was sitting as town council for the city of Washington, a member moved to amend the appropriation bill by inserting a proviso that almshouse inmates or other paupers and destitute persons who might be a charge upon the public should be turned over to any private institution that would contract to provide for them at 10 per cent less than they were then costing the District. Senator Call, who introduced the amendment, explained that it was in lieu of one which had been rejected at the previous session of Con-

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gress, whereby he had sought to have \$40,000 of public money given to the Little Sisters of the Poor, to enable them to build an addition to their Home for the Aged. He defended the original proposal on the ground that this sisterhood cared for the aged poor better and more cheaply than the almshouse, and that the existence of their institution had saved to the taxpayers of the District in the last twenty years a sum believed to be not less than \$300,000. It was not a novel plea; for Congress had already appropriated, since 1874, \$55,000 to aid the Home for the Aged of the Little Sisters of the Poor; and each year the District appropriation bill had included subsidies for a large number of private charitable institutions, some of them avowedly under sectarian management.¹ How far the tendency to grant public subsidies to private charities had gone in the District of Columbia is in some sort indicated by the following table: —

TABLE LXVIII., A.

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA APPROPRIATIONS FOR PUBLIC AS COMPARED WITH PRIVATE CHARITIES, 1880-1892.

	NUMBER OF INSTITUTIONS.		APPROPRIATION FOR MAINTENANCE.		
	1880.	1892.	1880.	1892.	INCREASE.
Public . . .	7	8	\$78,048.82	\$119,475.05	160 %
Private . . .	8	28	46,500.00	117,680.00	253 %
Totals . . .	. . .	. . .	\$124,548.82	\$237,105.50	
	APPROPRIATIONS 18 YEARS, 1880-1892.				
			CONSTRUCTION.	MAINTENANCE.	CONSTRUCTION AND MAINTENANCE.
Public			\$155,130.70	\$1,296,125.95	\$1,351,256.65
Private			300,812.53	840,940.00	1,141,752.53
Totals			\$455,943.23	\$2,137,065.95	\$2,493,009.18

¹ Other historical details in Folks, "Dependent . . . Children," pp. 135 ff.

From this table it will be seen that the amount given for maintenance to private charitable institutions at the beginning of the period was a little less than one-third of the whole amount, while at the close of the period it is a little less than one-half. The most surprising fact, however, is that the District had given to private institutions nearly twice as much money to be used in acquiring real estate and erecting buildings as it had granted to its own public institutions. Were we to deduct a sum of \$66,900 charged to the workhouse, a purely correctional branch of the so-called Washington Asylum, it would appear that more than three-fourths of the money appropriated for permanent improvements in charitable institutions was given to private corporations.

The appointment of a Board of Children's Guardians in 1892, the growth of a public sentiment against subsidies and the creation of a Board of Charities in 1900, has resulted in a gradual, if not very rapid, decrease of public subsidies, as shown by the following statement:—

TABLE LXVIII., B.

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA: APPROPRIATION FOR PUBLIC AS COMPARED WITH PRIVATE CHARITIES, 1900-1906.*

	NUMBER OF INSTITUTIONS.		APPROPRIATIONS FOR MAINTENANCE.		APPROPRIATIONS FOR BUILDINGS AND GROUNDS.
	1900.	1906.	1900.	1906.	1893-1906.
Public	8	11	\$350,000	\$623,000	\$1,156,000
Private	23	20	153,000	149,00	392,000

* MacFarland, N. C. C., 1906, pp. 281-282.

Comparing this with Table LXVIII., A, it appears that in proportion as subsidies have been withdrawn, public institutions have increased in number and have received far more

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adequate appropriations for maintenance and improvements. The greater part of the subsidies to private charities is now given in the form of a specific payment for a specific service under contract with the public authorities. Under this modified system, it is claimed that control and accountability are secured, thus removing some of the most objectionable characteristics of the lump-sum system of subsidies.

The tendency of public subsidies to increase rapidly — although usually granted in the first place on the ground of economy — and of subsidized charities to multiply at the expense of public institutions, is illustrated by the experience of Pennsylvania. Table LXIX. shows the appropriations to both classes of institutions for a period of fifty-five years.

TABLE LXIX.*

APPROPRIATIONS TO PUBLIC AND PRIVATE CHARITIES IN PENNSYLVANIA, 1850-1905.

YEAR.	PUBLIC CHARITIES.		PRIVATE CHARITIES.		ALL CHARITIES.	
	Appropriations.	No. of Institutions.	Subsidies.	No. of Institutions.	Total Appropriations.	Total Institutions.
1850	\$69,000	3	\$66,000	4	\$135,000	7
1855	59,000	4	58,000	5	115,000	9
1860	139,000	4	116,000	6	255,000	10
1865	123,000	4	227,000	26	350,000	30
1870	222,000	5	173,000	10	395,000	15
1875*	413,000	8	275,000	13	688,000	21
1880	458,000	8	171,000	8	629,000	16
1885	650,000	11	378,000	22	1,028,000	33
1890	755,000	9	822,000	52	1,577,000	61
1895	1,097,000	15	1,248,000	95	2,345,000	110
1900	1,430,000	15	1,149,000	129	2,579,000	196
1905	2,836,000	20	2,328,000	176	4,664,000	196

* Boyle, "Fifty Years," etc. (pamphlet), 1905; table reprinted in *Charities*, etc., vol. xii., 1905, p. 561.

Under the Pennsylvania system, subsidies are voted in lump sums for "maintenance" and "buildings," but the buildings when erected do not belong to the State but to private boards on which the State is not represented. Moreover, the amounts given have no relation to the number of persons cared for, nor to the amount of private subscriptions received. Private giving is thus discouraged, and the development of private charities is determined by the subsidies obtainable rather than by the needs of the community. With charitable budgets approaching five million dollars in 1905, Pennsylvania, an old and rich State, was enlarging her accommodations for the insane with cheap, temporary one-story buildings, had no separate provision for epileptics, and no adequate provision for the feeble-minded. This neglect of State dependents is a far greater evil than the political log-rolling and favoritism which inevitably accompany the appropriation of such large sums to private interests.¹

The best-known and most frequently quoted example of the policy of subsidies to private charities is that of New York City. In 1894, and again in 1899, the State Charities Aid Association made a thorough analysis of the finances of children's institutions especially, and in 1899 made a number of recommendations regarding the subsidy policy to the Comptroller of the city.² In 1894, 23 institutions were receiving \$1,625,994 from the city for the care of 15,331 children; that is, they received 69 per cent of the total cost of maintenance in subsidies. In the decade 1885-1894, from 6 to 13 institutions received a total sum of \$631,040 in *excess of the cost of maintenance*. Of these, two received in 1894 alone a total grant of more than \$250,000 each. In some cases, the care of dependent children might be thus said to have become a profitable business.

¹ Richmond, *Charities*, vol. xiv., 1905, pp. 843 ff.

² Publication No. 63, 1894; No. 74, 1899, State Charities Aid Association.

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The report made to the Comptroller in 1899 gives the following statement:—

TABLE LXX.

SUBSIDIES TO INSTITUTIONS IN NEW YORK CITY, 1899.*

INSTITUTIONS BY CLASSES.	NUMBER.	AMOUNT RECEIVED
Children's Institutions	51	\$1,665,723
Infants' and Foundling Asylums . .	7	551,050
Maternity Hospitals	12	54,823
Hospitals	60	271,550
Dispensaries	33	37,904
Reformatories for Women	6	40,604
General Relief Societies	22	19,251
Homes for the Aged	15	20,796
Corporate Schools, Mandatory . . .	28	205,000
Institutions for Defective Children .	15	206,197
Miscellaneous	33	176,724
All Institutions	282	\$3,249,624

* Publication No. 78, 1899, p. 5.

The State Charities Aid Association made a number of significant recommendations to the Comptroller for the regulation of public appropriations to private charities, of which only the briefest digest can be given here: (1) the city should make no appropriations for the care of any persons except such as are accepted as proper public charges by the Department of Public Charities; (2) the city should make all payments to children's institutions and hospitals at a per capita rate, instead of in gross amounts, and the rate should diminish as the number of inmates increases; (3) appropriations to dispensaries and for relief of the poor in their homes should be discontinued.

The conclusions of the Association's Committee as to the effects of the subsidy policy are of historic importance:—

“It is our belief that, more than any other one cause, excessive appropriations to private charities in this city have prevented adequate provision being made for the public hospitals and almshouses maintained and controlled directly by the city. These institutions are obliged to care for their inmates at a much less per capita cost than obtains in many — and probably in most — of the private hospitals and homes for the aged receiving public aid. While the city has in many cases, by its generous appropriations, relieved the managers of private institutions from the necessity of securing any private contributions whatever, the appropriations to its own institutions have frequently in the past been reduced to so small an amount that the buildings have fallen into dilapidation ; the heating systems have been wholly inadequate ; the food and clothing supplies have been insufficient, and the salaries have been so low that only the most incompetent and irresponsible class of caretakers could be secured. The consequences were untold suffering, and the sacrifice of many lives, particularly in the Infants’ Hospital. . . .

“In conclusion we desire to state that a careful study of this question has convinced us that the plan of granting public subsidies to private institutions has inherent and grave dangers which it is impossible to obviate, and that no plan can be devised which will insure wholly satisfactory results. We find that appropriations of public funds to private institutions inevitably tend to diminish and discourage private charity; that the system confuses the duties of the public authorities and of private citizens and private organizations, and prevents any clear division of the field as between public and private effort; that it encourages the growth of privately managed but publicly supported charities to an unlimited and harmful extent ; that although often apparently economical in the beginning, it is always in the long run enormously expensive ; that it indirectly prevents a proper equipment and maintenance of the public charitable institutions ; and that its permanent disadvantages far outweigh any immediate and temporary benefits that may be derived when the system is first established.

“So far as children’s institutions are concerned, no radical change can be made until some other system has been established, nor should any be attempted until the present efforts to regulate subsidies has had a full and fair trial. If the present efforts to exercise a rational and proper control over these subsidies should fail, then some other system should be adopted. The remarkable success of public systems of caring for destitute children in many States of the Union afford every reason for believing that a satisfactory system of public care for children

could be established in this State, if such a step should become necessary."

The adoption of a system of investigation by the Department of Public Charities and of per capita payment had an immediate effect upon the amounts appropriated. In 1903 the amount voted for children's institutions constituted only 52 per cent of the total cost of maintenance. A rule that acceptance by the Department is for one year only has further decreased the number of dependent children; and in spite of rapid increase of population, New York City has now fewer dependent children than it had ten years ago.

California has a system of subsidies for dependent children similar to that of New York, except that the per capita payments are exclusively from the State treasury, and there is no official investigation or control of admissions. The law provides that every institution in the State conducted for the care of orphan, half-orphan, or abandoned children, shall receive from the State treasury the sum of \$100 for each orphan, and \$75 per year for each half-orphan or abandoned child under 14. The institution, in order to qualify for this subsidy, need only have been in operation one year with 20 inmates. In 1883 foundlings were added to the list at the rate of \$12 per month until 18 months old. As a result of this system, the number of dependent children has been increasing since 1890 more than twice as fast as the population of the State. Table LXXI. (p. 408) gives the figures for a period of years.

The growth and persistence of the subsidy system, particularly in caring for dependent children, is closely connected with the desire of different churches to control their education in morals and religion. Of all orphanages and children's homes in the United States, 45 per cent are under ecclesiastical control, and a considerable percentage of those nominally non-sectarian are, in fact, strongly under sectarian influence. That there is no generally recognized definition

TABLE LXXI.

THE SUBSIDY CONTRACT SYSTEM IN CALIFORNIA.

1900-1907.

SIX MONTHS ENDING	NUMBER OF DEPENDENT CHILDREN.		AMOUNT PAID BY STATE.		TOTAL AMOUNT PAID BY STATE EACH HALF YEAR.
	Asylums.	Counties.	Asylums.	Counties.	
June 30, 1900	5494	2185	\$178,542.27	\$46,276.16	\$224,818.43
Dec. 31, 1900	5684	2287	180,713.38	48,492.34	229,205.72
June 30, 1901	5525	2428	181,676.73	53,186.54	234,863.27
Dec. 31, 1901	5397	2435	177,972.10	54,013.06	231,985.16
June 30, 1902	5519	2327	183,224.67	51,097.52	234,322.19
Dec. 31, 1902	5837	2565	185,967.29	60,376.01	246,343.30
June 30, 1903	5883	2410	187,268.78	56,043.04	243,311.82
Dec. 31, 1903	5691	2336	177,491.43	55,050.91	232,542.34
June 30, 1904	5336	2051	175,157.07	44,861.04	220,018.11
Dec. 31, 1904	5370	2182	166,450.84	50,466.84	216,917.68
June 30, 1905	5215	2238	169,903.69	53,464.82	223,368.51
Dec. 31, 1905	5206	2206	171,311.75	55,127.73	226,439.48
June 30, 1906	5314	2164	168,636.85	54,810.64	223,447.49
Dec. 31, 1906	5189	2127	164,438.49	53,777.25	218,215.74
June 30, 1907	5047	2057	161,718.46	52,428.07	214,146.53

of the word "sectarian" is noteworthy. There are few institutions that will admit its applicability to themselves, and there are few to which it is not applied by some one. Many institutions having no trace of sectarianism in charter, constitution, or by-laws are yet administered in the interests of a sect. A willingness to admit beneficiaries of all denominations is frequently less an evidence of non-sectarianism than of a tendency to make proselytes. Much might be said in favor of the idea that all private institutions are sectarian, when not in a religious then in a medical or social sense. Public aid to a hospital may help to build up a medical school or a school of medicine just as surely as aid to an infant asylum may

be used to build up a church, and social rivalries may stimulate people in pushing charities just as much as interdenominational competition.

In States where a constitutional limitation forbids the voting of public money to "sectarian" institutions, members of the Protestant denominations often seek to have this clause so interpreted as to exclude the institutions officered by the Roman Catholic orders, while charitable enterprises in which they are themselves interested are nominally unsectarian. The Catholics not infrequently try to evade the constitutional limitation by disingenuous subterfuges; and the Protestants, with characteristic shortsightedness, encourage such a course by their own eagerness to secure public money for the private institutions in which they are themselves interested.

The fact that there is a clear-cut distinction between public and private charities, but none between sectarian and non-sectarian charities, is one that those who oppose public aid to sectarian schools would do well to recognize. Protestants are willing to tease legislators for public money on behalf of a hospital or an orphan asylum in which they are interested, urging that it is "doing good," and that it is preventing crime and pauperism, and so saving money to the taxpayers. They do not see or will not acknowledge that the same could be said of a parochial school, and that the claim which they set up that their own institution is "non-sectarian" is equivocal and unfair, and one which in practice the courts have never been able to make definite.

A tendency could hardly have gone as far as that of granting public subsidies to private charities, unless there were many considerations either apparent or real of great force in its favor. As favoring this policy, the consideration which is first and foremost in the minds of "practical" people is the matter of economy. Especially where the number

of dependents in a given class is small, it is cheaper to hire them cared for than to establish an institution for them. This is the reason that in most small towns a private hospital is subsidized instead of one being erected at public expense; but, when we find a great city like Brooklyn depending entirely on subsidized hospitals for the care of its sick poor, this argument is inapplicable. Economy, however, may result from other causes, as when the private institutions are administered by religious orders, the members of which receive no pay except their support. In almost every branch of philanthropic work Roman Catholic institutions can underbid competitors, so to speak, because of the great organizations of teachers and nurses and administrators whose gratuitous services they can command; and if the State is to sublet its relief on the contract system, it is hard to see why those who can bid low should not get the contracts.

In reformatory institutions, those under private management have an economic advantage over those managed by public officials in that the former are able to keep the inmates busy at remunerative employment with less opposition from trade organizations. A public reformatory for girls that should keep its inmates busy with work from a great shirt factory would be sure to be attacked on the ground of its competing with poor sewing women; but such employment in private institutions, even those receiving public subsidies, is quite common. Even in institutions not officered by members of a religious order, the salaries are apt to be lower and all the items of expense to be more closely scrutinized than in a public institution. Add to all this the fact that frequently private contributors aid in the support of a private institution, and we see how great may be its advantage on the side of economy. To the real economies of this method of operation should be added the apparent economies when a private institution is willing to

make a very low bid, to make great temporary sacrifices, in order to get the subsidy system introduced—in order to establish connections between itself and the public treasury. “At first,” said a United States senator, speaking of the charities of the District of Columbia, “at first they thrust in only the nose of the camel.”

Secondly, it is urged that private institutions, especially those for dependent and delinquent children, have a better effect upon the inmates than can public institutions. For one thing, dogmatic religious instruction can be given. For another, the spirit of self-sacrifice that pervades a private institution has a good effect upon the inmates, and is contrasted with the cold and officialized administration of the public institutions. Connected with this, as also with the matter of economy, is the fact that boards of trustees and of lady managers and visitors give freely of their time and energy and sympathy in aid of private undertakings.

Thirdly, it is urged that, by subsidizing private institutions, we free them from the blight of partisan politics and the spoils system. The miserable political jobbery connected with so many almshouses and insane asylums and other public charitable institutions is pointed out, and it seems necessary to shield as many as possible of the State's dependents from similar evils.

A fourth consideration is, that by means of subsidies we aid the poor without attaching to them the stigma of pauperism. A home for the aged is more respectable than an almshouse, and a private protectory or industrial school is supposed not to discredit the inmates as much as a public reform school.

But this consideration brings us to a turning-point, for it is urged against such subsidies as well as in favor of them. It is said that private institutions receiving public money promote pauperism by disguising it. Children who would support aged parents rather than allow them to go to the

almshouse desert them promptly when some provision is made for them that is ostensibly more honorable. An illustration is afforded by the case of an abandoned woman who supported her mother for years rather than permit her to go to the poorhouse, but who was trying all the while to get her admitted to a "private" home for the aged. Parents unload their children upon the community more recklessly when they know that such children will be provided for in private orphan asylums or protectories, where the religious training that they prefer will be given them.

And thus we reach the first great objection to granting public subsidies to private charities. While it may be cheaper to provide thus for each dependent during a year, yet the number of dependents increases so rapidly that eventually the charge upon the public is greater than if the alternative policy were pursued. The results are most astounding, where, as in the case of dependent children in California, the managers of each institution are free to admit children and have them charged to the community. When the present law was being debated in the California Senate, it was estimated that the cost could never exceed \$30,000 a year, yet since then, according to Professor Frank A. Fetter,

"It has reached nearly a half a million annually, has almost killed any efforts to place the children in family homes, has in a large measure demoralized many families whose children are thus supported, and has acted unfavorably upon the spirit and motive of many of the charitable societies themselves."¹

In New York City in 1894 there was 1 dependent child to each 117 of the population as compared with 1 to 206 in London, and 1 to 856 in Boston. In 1904, with the modified and greatly improved contract subsidy system, the burden of New York remains far in excess of that of States having other systems.²

Where public officials alone have the right to commit

¹ *Am. Jour. of Soc.*, 1901, vol. iii., p. 378.

² p. 405, *ante*.

dependents to the subsidized institutions, a check is put upon reckless admissions. But even under this system there is danger that many will be charged to the public who would never have sought admission to a public institution.

In Illinois the constitution forbids public grants to sectarian institutions; but a law was framed providing that a county court might adjudge a girl to be a dependent, commit her to an industrial school, and that school should then be entitled to receive \$10 a month for her "tuition, care, and maintenance," besides an allowance for clothing. After the passage of this act the Chicago Industrial School for Girls was incorporated. Of the nine incorporators and directors, seven were officers and managers of the House of the Good Shepherd; and all the girls committed under the act to the Chicago Industrial School for Girls were placed either in the House of the Good Shepherd or in St. Joseph's Orphan Asylum. Questions as to the legality of such an arrangement brought the matter into court; and during the trial it transpired that about seventy-three girls who were committed to the Chicago Industrial School for Girls by the county court were already in the House of the Good Shepherd and St. Joseph's Orphan Asylum at the time of such commitments. "In other words, being already inmates of the institutions, they were taken to the county court and adjudged to be dependent girls, and at once returned to those institutions, and thereafter the county was charged with \$10 per month for tuition for each of them, and \$15 or \$20 or \$25 for clothing for each of them." The courts at first decided that the Chicago Industrial School was a "sectarian" institution, and the payment of the money therefore illegal; but the institution later found a way to evade the constitutional limitation. This is a very good example of the unsubstantial nature of the barrier which such a constitutional limitation forms.

In the second place, the argument from economy, in sup-

port of the subsidy system, is negatived by the fact that under this system there must be so many duplicate institutions. In Maryland, for instance, there are two reformatories for boys within a mile of each other, and two for girls, both in Baltimore. Catholics manage one pair of institutions, and private Protestant corporations the other. In Baltimore alone there are thirty orphanages and homes for children under private, generally sectarian, management, two-thirds of which received subsidies in 1903.¹

Many charitable institutions have been established less from brotherly love than from a quarrel in the board of managers in an older institution. This, together with the influence of individual ambitions, has led especially to the establishment of a great number of medical charities. When the public begins to grant such favors, it is hard to draw a line. As a United States senator once said, in speaking of the situation in the District : —

“ The very fact that Congress makes these appropriations has caused, to a great degree, the multiplication of the organizations. A few people getting together who are desirous of doing charitable work, or who have discovered some special need, or who are dissatisfied with some feature of some existing institution, instead of adding to or modifying such an institution, will start a new one, because they can appeal directly to Congress for the money necessary to begin it, and can base their claim on the ground that they are just as good as some other association already on the list.”

Again, the subsidy system proves extravagant in that it tends to dry up the sources of private benevolence. Individual contributors dislike to have their mites lost in the abundance of a public appropriation. Almost without exception those institutions that have received public aid the longest and the most constantly receive least from private contributors. In looking up the history of a considerable number of institutions, it was found that, after the public

¹ Census, “ Benevolent Institutions,” 1904, p. 79.

became a contributor, private contributions fell off from year to year, not only relatively but absolutely, and in some cases ceased altogether.

Even where the contract subsidy system exists, it operates to keep the dependent in the institution unnecessarily long, and is therefore uneconomical. In 1894 of 8000 dependent children about whom the facts were ascertained, 23 per cent had been held as public charges from five to fourteen years.¹ When the placing-out of a child or the discharge of an inmate actually involves the loss of \$75 to \$110 per year, the managers will naturally hesitate.

It has been pointed out by Professor Fetter that under this system it is impossible to unify and systematize the public charities; hospital appliances will be duplicated, beds will be empty in the public hospitals while private institutions are receiving pay for public patients; and maternity hospitals will be multiplied for the sake of clinical and teaching purposes without reference to the public need.²

A third reason for objecting to the subsidies we are considering is, that when voting upon them the legislator must resist special pressure. He has not a clear-cut issue of a given service to be rendered, balanced by a given expenditure, but it becomes partly a question of offending or favoring some sect or nationality. The contention that the subsidy system takes the charitable institutions out of politics is not supported by experience. On the contrary, it drags them into politics in a new and unfortunate way,—in a way that is found in practice to give great scope to log-rolling and kindred expedients. Some who will not do anything else for a charitable institution are willing to bully a legislator on its behalf. Most of the lobbyists are sincere even to fanaticism, but their view of the situation is terribly one-sided. It had come to pass that when the District of

¹ No. 63, State Charities Aid Association, pp. 4-5.

² Report of the Controller of the City of New York, 1899, pp. 14, 15.

Columbia appropriation bill was under consideration, and in the haste of the last days of the session, the Congressional committee rooms would be full of the representatives of the various charities, both men and women, intent upon getting the largest share possible. There was neither time, nor ability, nor opportunity on the part of the committee to come to any intelligent conclusion. Often those applicants most skilled or most personally attractive were most successful, and sometimes the committees were obliged to average their gifts.¹ After such a policy has been entered upon, it cannot be altered without injury to great vested interests, and without giving offence to large and powerful constituencies.

One of the most unfortunate results of subsidizing private charities is that the patrons and friends of those charities are set in opposition to general measures of social reform. Professor Fetter quotes the well-known fact that the establishment of State Boards of Charities has been almost invariably opposed by subsidized charities. In California, during more than a decade of agitation which was required to establish a State Board of Charities, it was opposed by the subsidized orphan asylums for fear their subsidies might be curtailed. Moreover, under the subsidy system the trustees and friends of these institutions must beg favors from political leaders. In Pennsylvania this fund has become a great corruption fund and the philanthropy which shares in the spoils must necessarily be silent.²

This brings us to a fifth reason for objecting to the granting of public subsidies to private charities. It frequently does positive harm to a charitable institution, and sometimes wholly destroys its usefulness. A private institution that receives no public money is not only freer in all its operations, and more highly valued by those who sustain

¹ The conditions of charity lobbying in Pennsylvania have been precisely similar in recent years.

² Professor Fetter presents this argument finely in *Am. Jour. of Soc.*, vol. vii., No. 3, 1901, pp. 372 ff.

and manage it, but its beneficiaries feel differently toward their benefactors. When visiting one subsidized institution the request was made that nothing should be said before the inmates that would inform them that the institution received any public money. One could understand the wish, and presume that the inmates would work more faithfully, be more grateful for favors received, and finally "turn out better," because they were kept in ignorance of the fact. Yet we may doubt the possibility or propriety of thus using public money, and at the same time trying to conceal the fact of doing so. By no hocus-pocus of subsidy-granting can we make taxation do the work of self-sacrifice.

In most instances States and municipalities have entered upon this policy of subsidizing private charities without deciding to do so, and even without perceiving that a decision was called for. Each request for a subsidy has been treated as a matter of administrative detail, involving no principle, and not significant as a precedent. The resultant system is about as business-like as though a city should try to get its streets paved by announcing that any regularly incorporated association that should pave a given number of square yards of street — location, time, and method to be decided by itself — should receive a given amount from the public treasury. It is as though private associations were allowed to do paving at their own discretion, and then, on coming to the legislature and teasing with sufficient skill and pertinacity, they should be given subsidies on the general theory that they were "doing good" and rendering "public service."

In its old form of payments in gross amounts, the subsidy system must and will be abolished; and even the contract subsidy system at its best must be carefully regulated. First, on behalf of the poor as well as the taxpayers, the government must provide for the thorough inspection of subsidized institutions, and the systematic auditing of their accounts. This work cannot be done by grand juries, or

legislative committees, or *ex-officio* inspectors, who may from time to time thrust their inexperienced noses into matters which they know nothing about. The work of inspection must be done by some thoroughly experienced and otherwise suitable administrative officer, who is definitely responsible for the thoroughness of his work. Second, the State must keep in the hands of its own officials the right of deciding what persons shall be admitted to the benefits for which it pays, and how long each person may continue to receive those benefits. If it pays for beds in a hospital, one of its own officials should have entire control of admitting and discharging the patients cared for. This is necessary in order that "there may be some gauge of indigency, and some assurance that the gauge will be used." Third, subsidies should only be granted on the principle of specific payment for specific work. When any one of these three conditions is lacking, the policy of subsidy-granting is necessarily pernicious.

The opinion of nearly all charity experts is unanimously against it; Professor Fetter, after a thorough discussion of the results in the States which have employed it for a period of years, concluded: —

"The logic of the situation demands the abolition of the policy of charity subsidies. It is a mediæval device. Formerly the line between the action of the state and that of private and ecclesiastical corporations was dim. Public functions were exercised by many guilds, societies, and church corporations, but the modern State has gradually overtaken these functions. As a matter of expediency there is abundant reason to carry this change to its logical end in the complete separation of public taxation from private charity. . . . The subsidy method is not a policy, it is an accident. The strongest arguments in its favor are merely negative — that it should be kept because we have it. . . . Nowhere is there any effective sentiment favorable to the extension of subsidies . . . in fact, the advocates of subsidies are entirely on the defensive. Within the last few years they have distinctly lost ground in the older States." ¹

¹ *Am. Jour. of Soc.*, vol. vii., No. 3, 1901, pp. 384-385.

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All that can be said against subsidies in general can be said against this form of subsidies, and more ; because here we have to deal with religious, medical, and social sectarianism, and because we are giving over the defenceless to the care of the irresponsible. As a transition policy for growing communities, or for new and developing varieties of benevolent work, it may possibly have had its place ; but it should not now be entered upon inadvertently, for while all its advantages and economies are greatest at the beginning, its disadvantages and dangers constantly increase as time goes on. Those who would entirely avoid establishing any precedent whatever for the voting of public money to private schools can take properly but one course, a consistent opposition to any and all public subsidies to private charities.



PART IV.

*THE SUPERVISION, ORGANIZATION, AND
BETTERMENT OF CHARITIES.*



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CHAPTER XVIII.

AGENCIES FOR SUPERVISION AND CONTROL.

ONE who has read the chapters of Part III. may have thought that they were largely occupied with telling how things should not be done, — with locating pitfalls rather than with mapping safe highways. It is not intended, however, to give any dark view of the possibilities of work for the relief of the poor by public, private, or endowed charities. If the map of the field shows difficulties, it is only because the difficulties are there, and an accurate map must show them. It is not a pleasant task to indicate where the pitfall is, but it is much better than to allow the traveller to find it through accident. It is next in order, however, to indicate the methods by which improvements are and may be introduced, and by which it may be brought about that benevolence shall be more constantly beneficent.

The charities of a given locality at a certain stage of development are a chaos, a patchwork of survivals, or products of contending political, religious, and medical factions; a curious compound, in which there is a strong ingredient of ignorance perpetuated by heedlessness. Individually they have originated as needs arose, or were supposed to have arisen, in small communities, and often in ignorance of what was being done elsewhere. This has given them a sufficient degree of local coördination, but has

left them without the stimulus of coöperation in larger charity movements.

The history of particular lines of charity shows that local public charities are often organized without any thought of how they should develop. Like Topsy, they simply "grow." Public outdoor relief is frequently the casual work of county supervisors to whom the position of supervisor comes as an incident in the performance of more important political or business functions. The almshouse is an institution to be favored or neglected, according as its superintendent has or has not a political "pull." The insane are in almshouses or jails, according as provision has or has not been made for them by the State, and are taken care of as the personal characteristics of the different sheriffs or superintendents of the almshouse may determine. Dependent children are neglected by public officials or striven for by denominational organizations, and the other needy classes are treated or not, according as the contending influence of self-sacrifice and of selfishness in many forms, work out their good or bad results.

Even far-reaching systems of State care are established with superficial knowledge of the needs of the class to be provided for, and with no consideration of their ultimate results. Busy legislators pass laws regarding charities heedlessly, or heedlessly refuse to pass them. Systems of care for the insane or for other defective classes are entered upon and partially inaugurated, and then, with or without reason, abandoned. In the institutions themselves there is a possibility of mismanagement through individual bad character or lack of sense on the part of the officers. Moreover, each manager of an individual institution is so interested in securing additions that are needed, or a new water supply, or something else that costs money, that he is very likely to neglect to examine the conditions upon which dependents are admitted, or to take any wide view of the purpose of

his institution and the extent to which it is fulfilling that purpose.

It is evident that in order to overcome the confusion, overlapping, wastefulness, and perhaps the inhumanity even, of this lack of system, some method must be devised of coördinating the efforts of all the charities of a given State. There must be some power outside of them which is interested not only in the details of their administration, but in their general plan and purpose. As a man cannot supervise himself with satisfactory results to the public, so an institution frequently does not understand its proper relation to others at work in the same field.

Soon after the conclusion of the Civil War, there was a movement in some of the older and wealthier States to establish public supervisory agencies known as State Boards of Charities. This was part of the general tendency to amplify and improve the administrative machinery of our State governments by the creation of boards or commissions for the care of the public health, and for the collection of statistics regarding labor.¹ The first board for the supervision of charities was established in Massachusetts in 1863, and Ohio and New York followed with similar boards in 1867. Illinois, Pennsylvania, and Rhode Island established boards in 1869. In 1907 there were 21 supervisory boards of charities and correction, and 12 boards of administrative control, in the United States.

In the main, these State Boards² are of two general types, one having powers of supervision and report only, and the

¹ Willoughby, "State Activities and Politics," Papers American Historical Association, vol. v., 1891.

² The name *Board of Charities* formerly meant a board with supervisory powers only; but some boards have acquired powers of control without changing their names. The name as generally used, however, still means a board of supervision. An attempt to avoid confusion has been made by using *Board of Supervision* instead of *Charities*, wherever possible.

other having powers of control over the charitable institutions of the State. Typical boards of control are now found in Rhode Island, Kansas, Iowa, Wisconsin, and other States. They are usually made up of salaried members, limited in number, — usually not more than six, — who are the trustees of the public charitable institutions and who have extensive executive power. They are charged with the maintenance, government, and direct supervision of State institutions, appoint their superintendents or wardens, and generally purchase all staple supplies.

Boards of Supervision are usually composed of honor officers. The number is sometimes considerable, as in the case of New York, where one member is appointed from each judicial district in the State. These unsalaried boards, with powers of supervision and report only, are necessarily made up of persons willing to give to the work a considerable amount of time for no other return than the possible payment of their expenses. Each board, as a rule, appoints a salaried secretary who is a permanent officer, or should be permanent, and who attends to the routine work of the office. These secretaries of State Boards of Charities were the moving force in organizing the National Conference of Charities, and many of them are as eminent specialists as this country has produced.

These unsalaried boards, having no patronage to bestow, are usually not under political control. This condition has occasionally led politicians to substitute a Board of Control, or to attempt to alter the character of the supervisory board so as to obtain the power of appointment of employees. Such an attempt made by the Governor of New York in 1901 was defeated on the ground that it was a dangerous and insidious effort to centralize all the State charitable and reformatory institutions under political control.¹ As a rule, however, there is "not enough in it" to induce politicians to

¹ Stewart, N. C. C., 1907, p. 27.

make much of a fight to secure control of one of these advisory boards. They consequently have a greater degree of stability, and from this fact they have a much greater influence. Where officials are changing very frequently, as is the case with our State legislators, and for the most part with our State executive officers, a group of men whose position is relatively permanent, and who from year to year accumulate experience and clarify their ideas as to what is necessary, can carry out plans of reform that would be impossible to a rapidly rotating board, even assuming that its members were of equal ability and devotion.

There is a tendency, however, to ingraft certain executive duties, such as the removal of foreign paupers from the State, as in New York and Massachusetts, and the care of certain classes of dependents, as in the case of dependent children in Massachusetts, and the removal of the insane from hospital to hospital within the State, as in Illinois, upon advisory boards without changing their general character. In some States, notably New York and Massachusetts, the executive control has been divided among several commissions; in Massachusetts there is a State Board of Insanity and a Board of Prison Commissioners, and in New York a State Commission of Lunacy and a State Commission of Prisons, in addition to an Advisory Board of Charities.

But over all such executive boards there should still obtain the power of an advisory board to investigate and report upon every charitable institution within the State. Such a board is much freer in giving its opinion as to needed changes than one having executive powers. For instance, in the matter of applying to the legislature for appropriations, an executive board must subordinate everything to securing enough money to carry the institution through the fiscal period in prospect. They will usually have occasion also to make applications for extensions, and increased appropriations for other purposes. They cannot

risk these important matters by recommending reforms which might antagonize certain interests, and raise up for them opponents in the legislature. A board with powers of supervision and report only is not, on the other hand, limited in any of these matters. If it sees a reform or coördination possible in the charities of the State, it can recommend an improvement, even at the risk of offending influential persons, and stand out for specific reforms without endangering current appropriations. Furthermore, an unsalaried board is more likely to stand well with successive legislatures than a body of men who get their living out of the business; and their recommendations for increased appropriations in which they have no personal interest will have more weight with many legislators than the persistent application of those whose support comes from the appropriations that they ask for.

An advisory board is a benefit to institutions as well as a check upon them; for it can further their growth, and stand as a guaranty of honest administration, which helps them in the opinion of the community. There are two reasons why all charitable institutions, especially public institutions, should be carefully supervised and reported upon: in the first place, it is for the protection of the beneficiaries and the public from abuses that may exist; and in the second place, it is for the protection of the institutions and the managers from unfounded suspicions. It enables the institutions to be above suspicion, which is out of the question unless there is some disinterested supervisory power over them, which has the confidence of both citizens and legislators.

One valuable service which has been rendered by the State Boards of Charities has been to raise the standard of service of the county and township charities. The managers of small local institutions, especially in the rural counties, are usually persons of honest intention, but with very little in-

formation concerning their duties. The State board is able through visiting, correspondence, and suggestion to place at their disposal the hard-earned experience of other communities, and to make it possible for them, without additional expense, to do an increasingly satisfactory work. In the matter of approving plans for county jails and almshouses, which is frequently given into the hands of the State board, the very fact that the plans must be submitted will frequently lead to greater care in drawing them than would otherwise be used. Many of the State boards have published, for the guidance of county officials, designs of the best and most economical forms of construction to be used in caring for the various classes of dependents. Sometimes a county, before building, sends a committee of its own officials travelling over the country at public expense to see the best jails and to get ideas on the construction of such edifices.

But besides the expense involved the wandering investigators may miss the most essential points in what they should see and learn. The State Board of Charities, having representatives from year to year in the National Conference of Charities, having available in its libraries the reports of other boards, and the reports of the various conferences; having also the experience of all the counties of the State for its own information, and a knowledge of what is done in distant cities, can frequently, by pointing to certain publications, or offering certain plans, give county officials better assistance in the construction and administration of charities than they could get for themselves.

In the discussion of the comparative merits of Boards of Supervision and Boards of Control, their relation to the local boards of trustees — often called “local boards of control” — has not been clearly distinguished. In the first case, the local boards of trustees retain their managerial powers; while in the second, they are superseded by the

State Board of Control, which appoints the head officers and regulates the finances of the institutions. The unintelligent and unbusiness-like methods often pursued by local trustees have already been referred to. In Wisconsin, the wasteful competition between the trustees of the various State institutions in trying to secure appropriations was one of the chief excuses for the change in 1901 from an advisory to an executive board.¹ In Pennsylvania, in 1905, the institutional lobbyists were strong enough to keep the recommendations of an Advisory Board of Charities from being accepted.² Local boards are liable to be influenced by local opinion, to patronize local dealers in the purchase of supplies, and in general to practise a narrow and wasteful policy.

A supervisory board can only remedy these defects by a slow system of public education, through their visitation of institutions and recommendations to the Governor; while the Board of Control — in Wisconsin and Iowa at least — has promptly introduced system and economy into the business management, and although they have hundreds of employees in the institutions which they control, has kept them entirely out of politics.

The arguments in favor of a Board of Control may be briefly summarized: it is economical and business-like; it is more efficient than the supervisory board because a few salaried officers give their whole time to administration; it prevents too great localization of management; it relieves superintendents of a large part of the financial responsibility, and thus sets them free to devote themselves to more important duties; it insures an equitable division of appropriations among institutions; it has power to enforce its recommendations; and, finally, it is in harmony with the general tendency toward centralization of social control.³

¹ Sparling, *Annals*, 1901, No. 62, p. 77.

² Richmond, *Charities*, vol. xiv., pp. 843 ff.

³ These points are elaborated in N. C. C., 1902, p. 148; 1904, pp. 180 ff.

The advocates of both forms of charity boards have not always clearly apprehended the ends to be accomplished by them. It is conceded that all charities must be controlled by trustees or by the State in some fashion to protect dependents and insure proper use of funds; it is also conceded that visitation, inspection, and report, either by a private or a public body of citizens, is a necessary check on executive boards, and one of the best methods of educating the public in humanitarian efforts. The real question is not therefore between supervision and control, — both of which are necessary, — but whether local trustees, plus a supervisory board, produce a better administration than a central Board of Control which may also exercise advisory powers. An obvious reply would be that one might be better adapted to a particular State than the other: as between Iowa with a Board of Control and Indiana with a Board of Supervision, Mr. Amos W. Butler thinks there is little to choose; but as between New York with 200,000 persons under State care under a supervisory board, and Minnesota with only 6000 under an executive board, Mr. Robert W. Hebbard thinks the conditions are too widely different to justify any conclusions as to the relative value of methods.

The controversy over these two forms of regulation seems likely gradually to settle itself by a modification of both of them; in the older States, where the number of institutions to be supervised is very large and their purposes widely different, a central advisory board with local governing boards was formerly the rule. But the local boards dealing with the same general classes of dependents — as for instance the insane, prisoners, or children — are now being replaced by Commissions in Lunacy, Commissions of Prisons, and Boards of Children's Guardians, which are in fact executive boards for a particular class, and all of which should be subject to the inspection of the supervisory board. In the Middle-West States, where Boards of Control are the ac-

cepted form, it is significant that they are strengthening the supervisory side of their work by volunteer boards of visitors, empowered to report to the Governor as well as to the Board of Control. The Committee on Supervision and Control of the National Conference of Charities and Corrections recommended in 1903 Boards of Control for groups of institutions, and an advisory unsalaried board likewise for each group.¹ Moreover, it appears that there is a tendency to enlarge the executive powers of supervisory boards in so far as they are needed to protect dependents; and to strengthen the system by substituting group boards of control for a number of local boards, as in New York and Massachusetts. At the same time there is a growing tendency for Boards of Control to call in volunteer service to fulfil their advisory functions. The weakest point of the supervisory board is its inability to enforce necessary reforms; the weakest point of Boards of Control is that they are left to supervise their own work. The recognition of these defects is leading to devices for supplementing the work of both in the directions most needed.

It must never be forgotten that the efficiency of both kinds of boards will depend on the quality of people composing them, and the demands made by the public upon them for disinterested and progressive administration. With a membership drafted from the best citizens and supported by an enlightened public opinion, both have been successful — in short, the method is far less important than the men.

Radiating from the State Boards of Charities are certain delegated visitorial powers bestowed upon appointees in the various counties and localities of the State. A local representative of a State board is expected to visit county institutions, and call to the attention of the board anything that seems to be amiss. In Ohio the Board of County Visitors is appointed by the Court of Common Pleas. This

¹ Blackmar, N. C. C., 1903, pp. 358 ff.

county board consists of six persons, three men and three women, and not more than three of each party; and they are required to visit all places of charity and correction in the county where they live. They have power to visit such institutions at least four times during the year; in fact, they make many more visits. They report to the Court of Common Pleas once a year, and they send a report also to the State Board of Charities.

In States where there is an active State board, but where the law does not provide for unsalaried visitors in this formal way, a considerable number of persons are in fact interested in local charities; and their visiting is made effective in the introduction of reforms through their correspondence and intercourse with the State board. Conferences of the superintendents of the poor are also frequently held under the auspices of the State board, as in Michigan, Wisconsin, and Indiana. The value of official boards has been greatly enhanced by the large number of people they have been able to interest in the administration of the public charities.

In several States there have grown up associations for the voluntary unofficial supervision of public charitable institutions in coöperation with the official boards. Of these the most important is the State Charities Aid Association of New York, organized in 1872, with the object of bringing about reforms in the poorhouses, the almshouses, and the State charitable institutions of New York, through the active interest of an organized body of voluntary visitors, acting in coöperation with and as an aid to the local administration of these institutions and the official State boards of supervision. Upon the nomination of the State Charities Aid Association, through its board of managers, district supreme courts are authorized to grant to the visitors of the Association orders enabling them to visit, inspect, and examine on behalf of the Association any of the public charitable insti-

tutions owned by the State, county, township, or city, the poorhouses and almshouses within the State of New York, such visitors to be responsible to the counties from which these institutions receive their inmates. The Association reports annually to the State Board of Charities and the State Commission of Lunacy upon matters relative to the institutions subject respectively to the inspection and control of these two official bodies.

The New York Association has a central board of managers, largely of New York City, and visiting committees in 43 counties, with a total of more than 1000 volunteer visitors to county, city, and town almshouses, State Hospitals for the Insane, County Homes for Children, City Hospitals, and other public charities.

The Association is supported entirely through voluntary contributions, refusing to receive money from public sources in order to remain free from outside influences. It maintains a salaried secretary and assistant secretary, prints a valuable annual report, and occasionally pamphlets on subjects of special interest connected with relief, at a total cost of about \$30,000 per year. Such an agency as this would manifestly be a nuisance unless wisely managed, and would result in legalized meddling. But actually the Association has secured very large results through its voluntary inspection of public institutions. Chiefly through its exertions a higher standard of care has been introduced into every almshouse in the State; a training school for nurses was established at Bellevue Hospital in 1873, and in 1874 a hospital book and newspaper society to provide reading matter for the inmates; the farming out of the poor has been abolished; a society for instruction in First Aid to the Injured, training schools for nurses for the insane and municipal lodging houses were established, and the removal of the insane from almshouses has been secured.

A summary of the work of this society in 1906 will serve

to show what may be done by volunteer service tactfully and wisely offered until it has gained the confidence of citizens and public officials. The Association's Committees visited the almshouses and hospitals of 43 counties, inspected the institutions under the Department of Public Charities in New York, and Bellevue and the allied hospitals; visited 22 State institutions for the insane and other classes; established four committees for the after-care of the insane; and studied and reported upon the methods employed to detect insanity and other defects in immigrants, and of caring for and deporting them. The Association has carefully examined all proposed legislation relating to charities and co-operated with other associations in influencing legislation for the welfare of the poor. Besides these supervisory duties, the Association does a large work in placing children and mothers with infants in families.¹

This record shows the possibilities of this type of voluntary organization under wise management. An organization similar to this might be established in States having no board of supervision or control as a means of educating people up to the point where a State board could be safely created; but it would only be feasible in case there were a group of persons with considerable wealth and leisure, and a vast amount of intelligence and tact, who were willing to give their time to it.

The class of public institutions that need the most supervision, and ordinarily get the least of it, are those of our large cities. Ordinarily, if there is a city department, it is an executive department, subject to the influences of politics, and not gifted with the power of supervising itself satisfactorily. In Boston, in 1892, Mayor Matthews appointed a committee of private citizens to visit and report upon charitable institutions of that city for his information and that of the public. A most valuable report was prepared, from

¹ Annual Report, 1906; "Charities Directory," New York, 1907.

which quotations have already been made in the course of this volume. In the following year an ordinance provided for a permanent committee of the same character, which amounted, in fact, to a municipal board of charities with power of supervision and report only.

In the chapter on Private Charities the question of the regulation of charities which do not receive public money was discussed. It is the unanimous opinion of charity experts that dependents should be protected in private as well as public institutions by systematic supervision, and that posterity should be protected as well by the regulation of endowments and bequests.

In the consideration of the various methods of supervision and control, two tendencies are seen to be strongly marked: one toward centralization of business-management either for all the institutions of a State or for certain classes; the other toward an increasing employment of volunteer supervisory service as both a check and an aid to public officials. Owing to these tendencies, it seems probable that the line of demarcation between supervisory Boards of Charities and Boards of Control will gradually be obliterated, and that the efficiency of both will be determined by the degree to which they can be kept out of politics, and to which they can enlist the interest and service of philanthropic citizens.

CHAPTER XIX.

THE CHARITY ORGANIZATION MOVEMENT.

IN its widest sense the organization of charities includes work already described. It is the purpose of a State Board of Charities to supervise and coördinate the public institutions. It is the aim of a volunteer body like the State Charities Aid Association to assist public charities in working together for good. But in its technical meaning the term "charity organization" has come to be applied to a particular kind of society whose aims are broader than mere almsgiving, and whose principles are applicable to every form of charity.¹

In the preceding chapter it has been shown how the uneven and unrelated development of State charitable institutions created a demand for agencies with powers of supervision, coördination, and regulation. If the charities of a State are chaotic, those of a large city are still more so. The systematic arrangement of the benevolent agencies of a city, as shown in a charities directory, might convey the idea that they had been evolved as systematically to meet the requirements of persons needing relief. Take, for instance, the classification of charities in Boston, where the first Charity Organization Society of this country originated.

¹ Many charity organization societies call themselves by other names: the Philadelphia Society by the cumbrous but accurate title, "Society for Organizing Charity"; others by the more convenient titles, "Associated Charities," "United Charities," "Bureau of Charities," etc.

DIRECTORY OF CHARITABLE AND BENEFICENT ORGANIZATIONS.

BOSTON, 1907. CONTENTS.

CLASS I. *Agencies for the Homeless :*

Shelters, transportation, miscellaneous.

CLASS II. *Agencies working with Needy Families in their Homes :*

1. Employment.
2. Special relief for special classes.
3. General relief for special classes.
4. General relief for all classes.
5. Day nurseries and kindergartens.
6. Nursing and care of the sick in their own homes.
7. Diet kitchens, milk funds.
8. Burials.

CLASS III. *Agencies working with Needy Children :*

1. Placing-out Agencies.
2. Prevention of Cruelty.
3. Homes for children.
4. Reformatory agencies for children, truant officers, children's courts, probation work, reformatories.
5. Miscellaneous.

CLASS IV. *Homes for Adults :*

1. Boarding homes for wage-earners and students.
2. Homes for the aged.
3. Homes for soldiers and sailors.
4. Almshouses.

CLASS V. *Agencies for the Sick (including Insane and Dipso-maniac):*

1. Ambulance service.
2. General and special dispensaries.
3. Special hospitals and sanatoria.
4. General hospitals.
5. Hospitals and homes for incurables.
6. Convalescent homes, fresh air, change of climate.
7. Miscellaneous.

CLASS VI. *Relief and Education of Defectives :*

1. Blind.
2. Crippled.
3. Deaf and deaf-mutes.
4. Epileptic.
5. Feeble-minded.

CLASS VII.¹ *Preventive and Reform Agencies.*

CLASS VIII. *Constructive Social Work.*

CLASS IX. *Educational Agencies.*

CLASS X. *Supervisory Agencies.*

CLASS XI. *Churches and Congregations.*

There are included in this list 1424 agencies which are concisely described in a volume of 500 pages. It might appear from this that every need was provided for, and that the field was adequately covered. But if the 1424 agencies were arranged in the order of the date of their foundation, it would appear that many of them have been organized where slight need existed, while at the same time there were great gaps in the charitable field still needing to be filled.

The chaotic nature of relief-work in a city where charity organization principles have not been adopted, may be better appreciated if viewed from the standpoint of the applicant for relief. A poor person in need of relief does not usually have a directory of charities in his library, and may be referred from agency to agency without being able to find the relief he needs, which all the while is waiting for him. In Baltimore, for instance, it will be found that there are societies to relieve any need whatever of particular classes of persons. The Hebrew Benevolent will do this for Israelites, the German Society for Germans, the St. Andrew's Society for the Scotch, the denominational societies for those of their faith and for an undetermined number of outsiders. On the other hand, there are societies that will relieve

¹ Classes VII. to XI. enumeration of societies omitted.

any person whatever in some particular way. The Poor Association will give coal and groceries to any applicant it considers worthy, without regard to religion, race, or color. The dispensaries will give medicine, the sewing societies, clothing, and so on. It will be noticed that the lines of activity intersect. The classification by race overlaps that by religion, while the classification by needs overlies them both; and several agencies for the same sort of work are superimposed upon the others, while unlimited claims upon individual benevolence supplement or duplicate the whole. Suppose the case of a German Lutheran who is in need of one thing, say fuel. There are four organizations to which he may properly apply: (1) the German Society; (2) his church; (3) the Poor Association; (4) the police station. If he is sick, the Indigent Sick Society may also aid; if a soldier, he may apply to the Confederate Relief Society or the Grand Army of the Republic; if his children go to a Methodist Sunday-school, help may be had from that source; if a Roman Catholic, he may also apply to the Society of St. Vincent de Paul; and finally, if he is just out of jail, the Prisoners' Aid Association may help. All this, of course, does not include what he may obtain from private individuals.¹

The necessity for coöperation among charitable agencies and for thoroughness of treatment may be illustrated by the work of the Philadelphia Society for Organizing Charity in a single case.²

"A poor colored woman, a widow, had two children, aged six and three, who had never walked. Before we could get this woman's difficulties straightened out and the legs of the children straightened too, our district superintendent and our volunteer visitor had sought either the advice or the active help of the following agencies: the district doctor,

¹ This description applied to Baltimore as Professor Warner knew it about 1890-1893, and still applies to many cities.

² Twenty-eighth Annual Report Philadelphia Society O. C., 1906, p. 16; see also in this report, "Fifty Selected Cases."

the woman's former physician, the Orthopædic Hospital, the Philadelphia Research and Protective Association, the Children's Aid Society, the Sunday *Ledger*, St. Christopher's Hospital, the Hahnemann Hospital, the Woman's Hospital, a medical inspector of the Bureau of Health, an employment agency, a public school principal, the Octavia Hill Association, the Department of Charities, and the House of St. Michael and All Angels. . . . In this particular record, which is by no means the longest, . . . it appears that our district superintendent and her assistant paid 76 visits, wrote 21 letters, and held 41 interviews in the office."

It was not only desirable, but necessary, that all these agencies should work together heartily, in order to do what was needed in the case. Proper aid to many destitute families involves an even wider circle of coöperation; and if we consider, not special cases, but charitable work in general, we find that not one of the agencies can properly isolate itself. A brief review of the history of the Charity Organization idea is necessary to explain how the incoherent charity of a generation ago has gradually been replaced by an intelligent system in which no charity lives to itself alone.

In the fifties there were organized in nearly all the large cities in the United States general relief-giving societies, usually under the title of "Societies for the Improvement of the Condition of the Poor." As indicated by the name, these societies held before themselves the highest purposes that benevolent people could seek to accomplish. In fact, most of their announced objects agree quite closely with those of the modern Charity Organization Societies. It was their purpose to find work for all willing to do it, to investigate all cases thoroughly, to raise the needy above the need of relief, and incidentally to relieve directly such want as seemed to require it. But all these Societies for the Improvement of the Condition of the Poor were dispensers of material aid, this function submerged all others, and, as Mr. Kellogg puts it, "they sank into the sea of almsgiving."

Their work was done more or less well; but there is a general agreement that twenty years after their organization, private almsgiving in American cities, for the most part through formal and even incorporated societies, was profuse and chaotic, while still not meeting the demands made upon it. It was dispensed in tantalizing doles miserably inadequate for effectual succor where the need was genuine, and often dealt out broadcast among criminals and impudent beggars.¹ Public relief, at the same time, was in an unsatisfactory condition, outdoor relief being administered with especial recklessness, and frequently tainted by political corruption. The old movement for the betterment of charities had substantially come to a standstill. While profession was still made of doing all that was needed, the energies of the societies were absorbed in giving direct relief. The tendency, that has frequently been observed, of the charity worker to be dominated by details, — to be so busy with immediate needs that he has not time to prevent their recurrence, — had largely neutralized the original aims of the Societies for the Improvement of the Condition of the Poor.²

The movement for charity organization which originated in London in 1868 was introduced into this country about ten years later, being copied directly at a number of independent points.³ After the trial of a society with similar

¹ Kellogg, "Charity Organization in the United States," N. C. C., 1893, pp. 53, 54; Devine, "Principles of Relief," pp. 343-345.

² The author once followed through with considerable care the annual reports of one of these Societies for the Improvement of the Condition of the Poor. One thing that seemed to serve as an index to the changing efficiency of the society was the statement regarding the number of persons for whom work was found. This item gradually dropped out of their reports altogether, and instead appeared sensational appeals for funds and descriptions of need in special cases. The large number relieved annually was especially dwelt upon; but the inadequacy of the relief given was manifest from the figures.

³ Probably precipitated by the experience of charity workers in relieving the destitution resulting from the depression of 1873-1878.

purposes at Germantown, Pennsylvania, and certain tentative and unsatisfactory experiments in clearing-house registration of relief work in New York and Boston, the first real Charity Organization Society was established in Buffalo, in December, 1877. The Rev. S. H. Gurteen, an English clergyman, who had been active in the London society, was the moving force in the inauguration of this enterprise. Boston, Philadelphia, and New Haven established similar societies in 1878, and Cincinnati, Brooklyn, and Indianapolis followed in 1879. The society in New York was not organized until 1882, when the initiative in the matter was taken by the State Board of Charities, which adopted the following resolutions: —

“ *Whereas*, There are in the City of New York a large number of independent societies engaged in teaching and relieving the poor of the city in their own homes, and

“ *Whereas*, There is at present no system of coöperation by which these societies can receive definite mutual information in regard to the work of each other, and

“ *Whereas*, Without some such system it is impossible that much of their effort should not be wasted, and even do harm by encouraging pauperism and imposture, therefore,

“ *Resolved*, That the Commissioners of New York City are hereby appointed a committee to take such steps as they may deem wise, to inaugurate a system of MUTUAL HELP AND COÖPERATION between such societies.”¹

In nearly every instance the motive leading to these organizations is declared to be “discontent with the prodigality and inefficiency of public relief, and the chaotic state of private charity.” Twenty-two of the associations organized at these or later dates report that —

“voluntary charity was lavish, uninformed, and aimless, with no concert of action; two that it was variable, and therefore unreliable; one that it was impeded by discouragement; and one that it did not exist in the community.”

¹ New York Directory of Charities, 1892, pp. 1, 2.

The same impulse that established the new societies abolished outdoor relief in Brooklyn and Philadelphia, and greatly reduced it in Buffalo and Indianapolis. The growth of the movement may be measured to some extent by the fact that fifty-five societies reported to the Committee of the National Conference in 1893 a summary of their income and personal service accounts, while in 1907 more than three times as many were listed in the directories of charities in the United States alone.

In order to afford as concise a view as possible of charity organization, there is given in tabular form, on the following page, a statement of the objects, methods, and machinery of the societies undertaking such work.

Taking up *seriatim* the objects and methods of the Charity Organization Societies of the United States, it may be seen that the fundamental thought is the coöperation of all charitable agencies of a given locality, and the best coördination of their efforts. In order to secure this, the coöperating societies, as far as practicable, furnish records of the relief-work done by each to the central office, so that accounts may be compared and the overlapping of relief prevented. The Charity Organization Society maintains at this central office an alphabetical list of all cases that have received relief from any reporting agency whatever, or that have been investigated by itself; and this confidential catalogue of cases treated is a treasure-house of facts for the guidance of those engaged in benevolent work. The New York society had in 1907 nearly 100,000 records (not including those withdrawn or destroyed), some of them covering 25 years and containing 40,000 to 50,000 words. While this is the largest consolidated list in the country, yet the central office catalogues of Boston, Philadelphia, and many other cities contain a very large number of cases. These are so arranged that any case can be referred to at once, and the person charitably interested in that case can get a reply

TABLE LXXII.

CHARITY ORGANIZATION PRINCIPLES AND METHODS.

PRINCIPLES.	METHODS.	MACHINERY.
1. Coöperation between all social forces and charitable agencies of a given locality, and the best coördination of their efforts.	1. Comparison of relief records of the several agencies and intimate acquaintance of workers with dependent families and their conditions.	1. A card catalogue of cases at a central office and frequent conferences of workers.
2. Accurate knowledge of all cases treated.	2. Thorough investigation, followed by careful registration.	2. Paid agents assisted by volunteer visitors, and elaborate case records either at central or branch offices.
3. Prompt and adequate relief for all that should have it.	3. Bringing each case to the attention of appropriate relief agencies willing to aid.	3. Correspondence, personal interviews, special or emergency relief-fund, coöperation with relief-giving societies and persons.
4. Establishment of relations of personal interest and sympathy between the poor and the well-to-do.	4. Friendly visiting.	4. Organization of corps of volunteer visitors, who are not almsgivers, working under the guidance of paid agents.
5. Exposure of impostors and prevention of wilful idleness.	5. After investigation, notification in all cases of those likely to be deceived, and, where feasible, arrest of impostors and professional beggars. Work test.	5. Paid agents, mendicancy police, publication of a "cautionary list," information to all asking for it in specific cases, wood yard, laundry, etc.
6. Work for all able and willing to do anything.	6. To provide regular work where possible and relief-work when necessary.	6. Employment agency, wood yard, stone-breaking, laundries, rag-sorting, work for the handicapped, etc.
7. Prevention of pauperism.	7. By special educational, provident, sanitary, and industrial schemes for those on the verge of dependence.	7. Kindergartens, night schools, industrial schools, penny provident funds, general constructive social measures.
8. Collection and diffusion of knowledge, on all subjects connected with the administration of charities and with the conditions of poverty.	8. Discussion, public meetings, social research and publication, education of charity workers.	8. Board meetings, annual meetings, conferences, lecture courses, periodicals, training classes in philanthropy.

regarding it from the society by return mail. This clearing-house function of the Charity Organization Society is the first and perhaps most fundamental one, and the one most clearly stated in the name which the societies adopted. Yet efficient coöperation in this matter on the part of all relieving agencies has been one of the most difficult results to secure; in some cities it has dwindled to almost nothing, while in others even public officials coöperate fully, and, as in Buffalo, submit all cases to which they give outdoor relief, to the investigation of the society.

This conception of coöperation on the official side among charitable bodies which was the initial idea of charity organization, has been immeasurably broadened in the practice of every successful society. Miss Mary E. Richmond, especially, has emphasized this fact and illustrated it in the accompanying diagram.¹ It shows coöperation as a working principle applicable to every act of the charitable worker, and it assumes that the worker knows intimately the family he is trying to help, that a thorough investigation has brought to light all the resources available, and that if there has been urgent need it has already been relieved.

DIAGRAM VII.

FORCES WITH WHICH THE CHARITY WORKERS MAY COÖPERATE.

A. *Family Forces:*

Capacity of each member for affection, training, endeavor, social development.

B. *Personal Forces:*

Kindred, friends.

C. *Neighborhood Forces:*

Neighbors, landlords, tradesmen.

Former and present employers.

Clergymen, Sunday-school teachers, fellow-church-members.

Doctors.

¹ Richmond, N. C. C., 1901, p. 300.

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Trade-unions, fraternal and benefit societies, social clubs, fellow-workmen.

Libraries, educational clubs, classes, settlements, etc.

Thrift agencies, savings-banks, stamp-savings, building and loan associations.

D. *Civic Forces :*

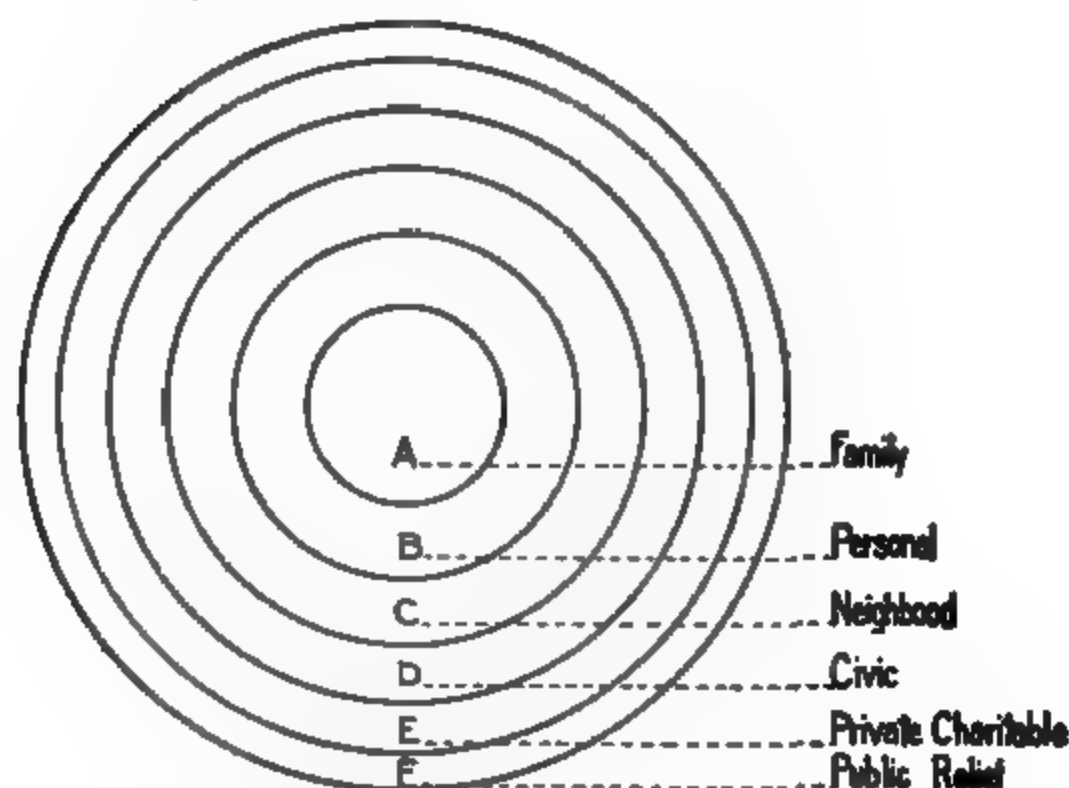
School-teachers, truant officers.

Police magistrates, probation officers, reformatories.

Health department, sanitary and factory inspectors.

Postmen.

Parks, baths, etc.



E. *Private Charitable Forces :*

Charity Organization Society.

Church of denomination to which family belongs.

Benevolent individuals.

National, special, and general relief societies.

Charity Employment agencies and workrooms.

Fresh-air Society, Children's Aid Society for Protection of Children, Children's Homes, etc.

District nurses, sick-diet kitchens, dispensaries, hospitals, etc.

Society for the suppression of vice, prisoners' aid society, etc.

F. Public Relief Forces :

Almshouses.

Outdoor Poor department.

Public hospitals and dispensaries.

Miss Richmond further explains : —

“ All city families, rich and poor alike, are surrounded by the forces indicated within these circles ; . . . in every family asking charitable aid, therefore, the natural resources have so far failed as to send its members crashing down through circles *B*, *C*, *D*, to *E*, the circle of private charity. The problem of charity is to get them back into *A* again by rallying the forces that lie between. . . . Other things being equal, the best force to use is the force that lies nearest the family. Charitable coöperation begins and ends in an intimate knowledge of the needs of individual poor people and in the patient endeavor to make them permanently better off.”¹

A second fundamental object of the Charity Organization Society, which is partly attained by the methods taken to secure coöperation and prevent the overlapping of relief, is an accurate knowledge of all cases treated. Besides consulting the records of coöperating societies, this is to be gotten by thorough investigation, followed by careful registration. The old relief societies frequently depended upon the memory of the paid agent for the facts regarding different families aided; but the Charity Organization Society keeps its records with thoroughness in writing, and thus extends their usefulness beyond the service of any one individual. Investigation is not merely for the prevention of fraud, but is an essential prerequisite of proper relief. The giving of money or supplies is merely one form of prescribing for a case of destitution, and an investigation is as essential in dealing with the case as a diagnosis in a case of sickness with which a physician deals. Nor is it solely to ascertain whether technical relief is needed, — for material relief may be the least of the needs

¹ N. C. C., 1901, pp. 298 ff.

of the family, — but rather to supply data for ascertaining what the treatment should be and who should administer it.

The third function of a Charity Organization Society is to find prompt and adequate relief for all that should have it. The society is an animated directory of charities of the locality in which it works. No one is turned away from the office of the society with the statement, "Your need is none of our business;" for the society makes it its business to see that each need is brought to the attention of the proper agency. If no agency exists, a benevolent individual can usually be found to give the relief required. In discharging this function of finding prompt and fitting relief for each case of need, some societies have been led to start relief-funds of their own. When the first of these organizations were formed, the antagonism of the old relief-giving societies was frequently aroused; for the latter thought they saw in the new movement a likelihood of the duplication of their own efforts, which would be mischievous in its influence on the poor, and embarrassing when appeals were made to contributors. It was partly because of this position on the part of the established societies that many of the new organizations started out as non-relief-giving agencies, in this matter breaking with English tradition and making a new departure in charity work. Experience seems to have shown that this abstention from relief-giving in the earlier years was the very best thing to allay the jealousy of older societies; and that it preserved the Charity Organization Societies for the higher purposes which they had in view. A Charity Organization Society with a relief-fund must necessarily compete in its appeals to contributors with other organizations giving direct relief to the poor. These organizations are consequently apt to be jealous of it, and may not coöperate so willingly, either in aiding cases it brings to their attention, or in giving to it and obtaining from it information of common advantage. In such circum-

stances it often drifts into a condition where it is simply one of several relieving agencies.

Further than this, the public is used to organizations of the relief-giving type; and when it hears of a Charity Organization Society, that its work is to benefit the poor, but that it does not give alms in any form, such an idea has an educational influence of great value in the community. People ask at once, "What does it do?" and may then be induced to look over the long list of things, other than relief-giving, that need doing. The older relief societies were continually criticised on account of the amount spent in administration. If it appeared that 20, 30, or 50 per cent of the contributions went for the payment of administrative expenses, the contributor might object on the ground that he could give his money away more cheaply than that himself. When Charity Organization Societies have no relief-fund, this comparison of expenses for administration with relief is obviated. If asked how much is spent for purposes of administration, the answer is, "All," and this has a good tonic effect both upon the questioner, who begins to see that helpfulness means more than almsgiving, and upon the representative of the society, who realizes that the work must be really and demonstrably useful if it is to win the support of the public.¹

In proportion as the Charity Organization Societies gain the confidence of the community and of the relief societies, friendly coöperation brings about new adjustments of relations. An investigation made in 1901 of the practice of Charity Organization Societies in the matter of relief-giving showed that of seventy-five societies, all but six

¹ The author's personal experience in the administrative work of a Charity Organization Society convinced him, somewhat to his own surprise, that such a society ought never to have a relief-fund. Such a fund at once saps the energy and ingenuity of agents and visitors in treating cases and securing coöperation. It also makes it more difficult for them to obtain coöperation, even if they try equally hard.

provided immediate relief in urgent cases from funds, either emergency or general, in the hands of their agents.¹ More than half of all the Charity Organization Societies were in cities which had no relief societies; others could not secure coöperation with the existing relief societies or found too much delay and difficulty in doing so. In some cities, as in Baltimore, the adjustment between the relief-giving and the Charity Organization Society takes the form of federation;² sometimes the field is divided between them, neither relinquishing its powers, as in New York.³ Where the relief-giving society was formed after the charity organization and to supplement it, it commonly remains passive and serves as a repository of relief, because of its confidence in the parent society. Often the difference between a Charity Organization Society that gives relief, and one that does not, is chiefly in name—the fund in one case being “intermediary” or “special,” in the other appearing in the general expenditures—a difference of bookkeeping rather than of principle.

It may be concluded that for one reason or another the societies which now represent most fully and vitally the broadest charity organization principles are giving emergent and special relief. It is limited in amount and strictly guarded, but in the hands of trained agents and with the constantly expanding ideal of what adequate relief and treatment require, it has been robbed of some of its perils. Professor Devine declares that if these societies have kept free to a considerable extent from the dangers inherent in relief-giving, it is because they have not, as a rule, directly disbursed relief from a fund previously accumulated, but have instead obtained their relief, case by case, as it is

¹ Hubbard, *Am. Jour. of Soc.*, vol. vi., No. 6, 1901, pp. 783 ff.

² Brackett, *Charities*, vol. ix., 1902, pp. 37 ff.

³ Twenty-fifth Annual Report New York Charity Organization Society, 1907, p. 85.

needed for individual families. They have thus been compelled constantly to justify their decisions and their methods to others in order to secure approval and coöperation.¹

The fourth function of the Charity Organization Society is to establish relations of personal interest and sympathy between the poor and the well-to-do. This is accomplished through what is technically known as "friendly visiting," volunteer visitors being secured who are willing to go to the poor as friends, and not as almsgivers. Preferably each friendly visitor has only one, or at most two, cases, and the relation is made as permanent as possible. There are many instances where for years the same visitor has gone to the same family, and genuine personal attachments have been formed. Visitors should never be almsgivers; for in that case the poor look upon them as persons from whom something is to be gotten, and, on the other hand, if empowered to give relief, the visitor fails to invent methods of rendering the better service that is needed in order to cure poverty. The work of friendly visiting is declared by the most advanced societies to be the heart of the work. The motto "Not alms, but a friend," first adopted in Boston, has come to be the motto of many of the societies. The Buffalo society declares its primary aim to be:—

"to increase, to organize, and to educate the amount of unpaid, voluntary personal service given to the poor of Buffalo."

This work is developed under great discouragements in most of our large cities, especially in New York, where the long distances to be covered by the volunteer visitor, and the shifting nature of the indigent population, make it very hard to establish permanent relations of friendship, or even of acquaintance. A measure of success, however, has been reached in many cities, even in districts where there is not one resident that could be called upon as a friendly visitor,

¹ "Principles of Relief," p. 351.

and where many of those who do the visiting travel from the suburban towns to reach the field of work. The city of Boston leads with 877 visitors, Chicago has over 400, and Buffalo, 150.

If the influence of friendly visiting upon the poor is of great value, its humanizing effect upon the visitors themselves is scarcely less. In all large cities there are places which, though not far from the well-to-do geographically, are likely to be completely forgotten. Balzac said of Paris that there were streets and alleys of which the upper classes knew no more than a man knows what is going on in his pancreas. If this is less true than when it was spoken, it is because many volunteer workers have been looking into these different parts of the city, and taking an interest in the people that live and die there. There is no education in charitable work so good as that which comes to the friendly visitor. Becoming interested in one family, he is likely to be led out into an interest in all branches of city government, and of the county and State government as well; he will inevitably be drawn into the current of broader measures for social and industrial betterment. He who takes an interest in trying to cure poverty in a single case will soon come to find that nothing in politics or industry is foreign to him.

The fifth function mentioned in the tabular view, the exposure of impostors, and the prevention of wilful idleness, is frequently over-emphasized in describing the purposes of a Charity Organization Society, so that people look upon the society as merely an anti-mendicity league, a detective society for preventing imposition and bringing swindlers to justice. The society is consequently regarded as bloodless, cold, and uncharitable, doing a work which may be necessary, but which is certainly ungracious, and does not appeal to the actively benevolent. A society in a large city like New York or Chicago has much of this work to do,

especially the detection of fraudulent charities. In smaller places there are not many fraudulent charitable enterprises, but there are always dishonest begging-letter writers, and dishonest beggars from door to door. The New York Society has carried farthest the special work of dealing with street beggars, employing agents for that purpose, who aid, warn, expose, or arrest, as circumstances may seem to require in each case. This work of freeing the streets of mendicants is very much limited by the practice in most cities of giving licenses for petty peddling on the streets, or for operating musical instruments of the hand-organ type. In order to prevent wilful idleness, most of the societies provide a work test for both men and women, or avail themselves of one operated by a coöperating association.

To give their contributors and coöperating agencies knowledge of impostors, several of the societies publish a cautionary list of dishonest applicants for relief, with their various aliases so far as known. The Chicago Bureau of Charities maintains an Inquiry Department which has information on file covering 1200 charities and "alleged" charities, and which is prepared to investigate any others at the request of a subscriber.

The Endorsement Committee of San Francisco (established by the coöperation of the Merchants Association and the Associated Charities) investigates charities at their own request and furnishes acceptable ones with a card of indorsement which may be used in soliciting contributions.

Closely connected with the work of preventing wilful idleness is that of finding work for all who are willing but who cannot find work for themselves through the ordinary channels. The wood yard and laundry may serve as work tests, but they cannot give steady and profitable employment to all those desiring work. Each Charity Organization Society is, consequently, to some extent an employment agency, dealing in ordinary times with the semi-capable, with those

who from some perversion of character or defect of mind or body cannot fit themselves into the industries of the time, but may be able to do certain things if those things are sought out for them. Many of those with whom the society deals are able-bodied, but not able-minded; or they may be both strong and intelligent, but not reliable. There are comparatively few cases where there is not some limitation of capacity more than that belonging to the average person. In this, as in every other form of relief, care must be taken not to undermine self-reliance by finding employment for those who have no special limitation of physique or character. Temporary employment is often properly used as a substitute for relief; but in general, Charity Organization Societies should only act as employment agencies when applicants cannot find work through the regular agencies.¹

The seventh function of the Charity Organization Society has been enumerated as the prevention of pauperism. This is sought to be accomplished by all the means employed for the furtherance of the other specific purposes of the society. From the beginning of the charity organization movement, many societies have established undertakings to assail pauperism in its causes: the crèche, or day nursery at which working mothers may leave their children during the day; kindergartens in connection with the public schools, cooking schools, sewing schools, trade schools; the encouragement of thrift by different varieties of savings-funds, such as the Penny Provident, which receives deposits of one cent and upward; fuel funds, by means of which summer savings can secure winter delivery of coal at summer prices; these and hundreds of other educative and preventive measures have been inspired and initiated by them. In recent years the Charity Organization Societies have been leaders in municipal and legislative reform, sharing and organizing independent

¹ Brackett, *Charities Review*, vol. vi., 1897, pp. 397 ff.; Devine, "Principles of Relief," pp. 152 ff.

movements for the prevention of tuberculosis and unsanitary housing, for the establishment of municipal lodging houses and the control of charity transportation.

The eighth and last function of the Charity Organization Society is the diffusion of knowledge on all subjects connected with the administration of charities and the prevention of dependence. No progressive society neglects these functions. By public meetings, conferences of visitors, lecture courses, training classes for workers, and the publication of periodicals they undertake to educate the community into wiser methods of charitable effort. The bibliography of charity organization now comprises hundreds of titles of the pamphlets and other publications issued by the societies of the country. Their annual reports are educational literature of high value, giving detailed accounts of cases, and explaining the countless things, not to be summarized, which are necessary in wisely aiding the poor.

In the earlier history of charity organization, what have been called the negative functions, *i.e.* investigation, registration, and repression of fraud, were emphasized as being of the highest importance. With the broadening and spiritualizing of the aims of these societies, coöperation, prevention, and education have taken the first place. While the principles of Charity Organization Societies remain the same, the emphasis upon them has changed; and, as principles, no longer belonging to a particular form of society, but becoming the inspiration of philanthropy, they have become the regulative force of all relief-giving.

CHAPTER XX.

THE TREND OF MODERN CHARITY.

THOSE who juggle with the word "charity" find it easy to assert that there has been no progress in charity since the early days. They point to manifestations of the purest and most unselfish sentiment on the part of the early Christians and of the pre-Christian pagans; and then to our modern charities with their material aid, and all their defects of narrowness and inadequacy, and ask us to note how charity has degenerated. They call attention to the fact that the King James translators of the New Testament could use the word "charity" in the thirteenth chapter of 1 Corinthians, while those who made the new translation substituted the word "love." But this controversy is in fact a matter of mere definitions, and it is only by playing fast and loose with words that the case is made out against modern charity.

With a calculus of the benevolent impulses we have nothing at present to do. Presumably thirst is the same to-day as in the time of Gideon, when his soldiers drank from the hand or bowed themselves to the stream; but the modern city must have waterworks. So though charity-in-the-sense-of-love be the same yesterday, to-day, and forever, yet the social machinery for making benevolence beneficent, changes with the changing times.

Nevertheless it must be acknowledged that even when attention is strictly confined to charities in the sense of the word used in this volume, and though one may be confident of progress, it is difficult to meet scepticism with tangible proofs. While one can point to great institutional develop-

ments along many lines, yet there still remain some institutions that illustrate the worst evils of philanthropy. Good systems continue to break down because weakly administered, and bad systems defy reform by working well in the hands of the exceptionally capable. From this point of view it is almost discouraging to find that the uneducated charitable impulse may still be of as much value as when Lecky wrote the following observation:—

“It will continue to be found that the Protestant lady working in her parish, by the simple force of common sense and by a scrupulous and minute attention to the condition and character of those whom she relieves, is unconsciously illustrating with perfect accuracy the enlightened charity of Malthus.”¹

It may have seemed to the reader of these pages that the chief result of scientific charity has been to disclose ever greater need, creating demands for more institutions, at constantly increasing expense, and with an ever rising standard of care. It is necessary to gather up, from the mass of details concerning specific charitable efforts, mistakes, plans, and theories, those larger guiding tendencies which interpenetrate them all, and which lead onward into a broadening field of social betterment.

It may seem at first a grim reason for hopefulness to say that an element of progress lies in the very weight of the burden that charity imposes upon modern communities. It has not been enough for modern medicine to sound the alarm of race degeneration through scrofulous and neurotic heredity; not until the burden of the insane, epileptic, feeble-minded, and inebriate mounted to hundreds of thousands of wretched human beings for whom there is no place in homes or institutions, did States begin to plan for permanent custodial care or to regulate marriage. The burden is rapidly driving us on to curative and preventive methods, for we must become wiser or be crushed.

¹ Lecky, “European Morals,” vol. ii., pp. 92-93.

Moreover, that mankind begins to be conscious of the weight of the incapable and the helpless means the deepening of altruistic instincts and a growing sense of the solidarity of society. The ages gone by accepted misery, incapacity, and industrial slavery as inevitable in the constitution of the world; but at last we begin to see that chronic poverty and preventable disease can and must finally be done away.

The interest in individual poor persons and in charitable institutions not only develops a sense of the enormous social burden which must be carried, but leads out into a wider interest in social conditions. The need of getting past the charitable organization to the individual poor person and of treating him as his special needs require, is often emphasized. There is a reverse process of equal importance to the right development of philanthropy; it is that by which charitable workers engaged in helping the poor come to see the necessity of improving all the conditions — political, industrial, social — affecting the life of the poor. One who is a good neighbor by force of kindly instincts and common-sense, may succeed in the simple conditions of country life; but in the complex and unneighborly modern city he can hardly become interested in the cure of poverty in a given case, without being driven farther back to a lively interest in the reform of city politics, the improvement of sanitation; and finally, even to those fundamental economic and social questions which underlie them all and which, at the beginning, would have appeared to have no relation to the work of relieving the poor. Active Charity Organization Societies are constantly educating workers who, through their interest in cases, come to have a vital interest in conditions and pass from the work of caring for the one to reforming the other. Nor is this a loss, for it is a necessary step in the broadening of charitable aims till they shall include whatever is required for the cure and prevention of dependence.

Wherever a system of honor offices obtains through which a large number of the influential class become interested in the administration of public charities, there results a betterment of political institutions and often a modification of industrial conditions. Institutions have grown largely through the operation of unconscious forces, but their further growth must now be consciously guided to meet the highest social ideals. To a great extent charitable institutions are still in the condition of half-capable business men who cannot be said to manage their business, but who rather let their business manage them, being driven so hard by attention to details that they have not time properly to organize and direct their work. While all agree in the truth of the statement that "a fence at the top of a precipice is better than an ambulance at the bottom," yet they are so busy picking up the fallen that they do not get time to prevent others from falling. It is one of the peculiar merits of those imbued with charity organization principles that they will not allow themselves to be buried under details. They try to survey the whole field, and it is for this reason that so many of their workers combine an interest in individuals with an even more hopeful interest in the reform of social conditions. Some are impatient because workers in charities do not move faster, because they have such small concern for the causes of distress, and for its prevention. But while our charities may not be moving as fast in this desirable direction as could be wished, they are certainly moving faster, more perceptibly, than ever before. Many of the problems of dependence are gradually passing over into the realms of justice and economics; and many organizations and movements which are as truly charitable as an orphanage or an almshouse, pass under the name of constructive social work, or prevention and welfare. This cannot be doubted by one who scans, for instance, the contents of the proceedings of the National Conference of Charities and Corrections.

There is a wide difference between the reports of the earlier years which deal largely with papers and discussions on State charitable institutions for the pauper and the insane, and those of recent years covering a variety of topics not only in technical charities, but in preventive work for children, immigration, neighborhood work, recreation, industrial insurance, standards of living, and social research.

The general interest in philanthropy is being stimulated by associations for the study of the social sciences and for the promotion of scientific methods. So long as the work of aiding the poor remained an art only, having its origin in instinct and its encouragement in super-rational or non-rational sanctions, a lack of verifiable progress was to be expected. Such was the case in the art of healing and the art of nursing before they were reënforced by the discoveries of the exact sciences. The art of nursing, and its improvement through the help of the science of bacteriology, affords an excellent example of the manner in which an art, presupposing sympathy in the one practising it, can yet be improved by the help of science. No one appreciates more fully than the ideal physician and the capable nurse the non-material aids to health. Drugs cannot take the place of hope, nor sterilized dressings the place of sympathy. Many of the component parts of gentleness are non-material, and acquired skill is no substitute for conscientiousness. But it remains true that it is science upon which medicine and nursing have drawn for help in the art of healing, and thereby made it more certain and more satisfactory in its results.

Until recently all the social sciences have been at the stage where their premises were disputed and their deductions to be used with caution. Political economy has only lately emerged from the disrepute of a dismal science, and sociology has barely gained recognition. As yet the social sciences are even less certain than the medical sciences, but

the use of them as a foundation for charitable work contains the best possible guaranty of substantial progress.

The necessary relation between technical social science and practical philanthropy has been recognized by the establishment of courses in causes of poverty, charities, penology, and industrial betterment in most of the universities and colleges of the country. Men who have had their training in practical charities are called to professorships, and professors become the leaders of charitable societies and movements. College graduates, trained in economics and social science, serve their apprenticeship in the offices of charitable societies under the guidance of trained agents, and become, in turn, the representatives of a new profession. As charities grow complex and wider in scope, and as the social sciences are better understood, it is seen that workers with definite preparation have, in this field as in every other, an advantage over those who have merely dropped into the field from some other. The need of technical training for this new profession has been still further recognized by the establishment of special schools of philanthropy and of training classes for volunteer visitors.

Among salaried employees of charitable societies, Mr. Homer Folks found in 1893 three tolerably distinct types: the first was the man considerably past middle age, who had outlived his usefulness in any other line, and who, by reason of his unusual goodness, was supposed to be an acceptable alms distributor. In the second type, the great excellency lay in clerical ability; work for a charitable agency was the same as work for a dry-goods firm, a grain warehouse, or a street-cleaning department, except that the wages were somewhat less. The third type differed from the other two in that the man considered the work a profession, as other men regarded journalism, law, theology, or medicine. He entered the work because it was to him the most

inviting field of service. At that time those who belonged to the third class commonly had no preparation especially designed to fit them for their work. Many had been ministers or teachers, some journalists, and a few lawyers. Among the older men a majority had perhaps been fitted for the ministry, and among the younger men a considerable number were those who would have been ministers at an earlier time.¹ Among the young men and women studying social science in American colleges at the present time, there are many who would never have thought of becoming ministers or foreign missionaries, who yet turn to the new profession of charity worker or neighborhood worker as a field of congenial and unselfish social service.

Salaries for this profession are still too often graded according to the deserts of the first two classes of workers mentioned by Mr. Folks, and meagre salaries are even defended by people who seem to think that in philanthropy as in teaching, the worker should put away the normal human desire for reasonable comfort and pleasure. Those who willingly contribute to the support of a six-thousand-dollar clergyman will frequently insist that fifteen hundred per year is ample for the paid secretary of a charitable society. One who enters this new profession must be willing, of course, to make sacrifices for the work; clergymen expect to bring to their work some measure of self-sacrifice, but that does not preclude the possibility of their being well paid. A clergyman on an adequate salary can render better service than one on the verge of dependence. Mr. Folks well urged that the salaried agent of a charitable society ought not to allow others to assess his personal contribution to the work and collect it in advance by requiring him to

¹ See "College Men in Benevolent Work," Proceedings of Section VII., International Congress of Charities, Correction, and Philanthropy, held at Chicago, 1893. (Baltimore, Hopkins Press, 1894.) To the same volume Miss Anna L. Dawes contributed a valuable paper on "The Need of a Training School for a New Profession."

work for excessively low wages. There was a time when it was said that no man ought to take a salary from a charitable society unless he would himself otherwise be an object of charity. That time has passed, though there is still a current theory that by paying a charity worker a little less than he could earn elsewhere, a self-sacrificing temper is assured. As a matter of fact, this niggardly policy simply insures the drafting off of the best ability to other lines of work which afford equal opportunity for unselfishness and more just compensation; and the retention in charity work of some who could scarcely find a place elsewhere.

Many young men and women are ready to consecrate themselves to the work; but they are not ready, and ought not to be ready, to consecrate themselves on terms that make good work impossible. In addition to consecration and native intelligence, the successful paid charity worker must have a tolerably expensive education continuing through life, and the sound health that enables a man to preserve enthusiasm, clear vision, and undulled sympathies through years of harassing work. While in the service of the poor we may hope to secure consecration and possibly intelligence for nothing, education and health are things that cost money, and must be paid for.

The considerations here urged are already accepted as sound by the more progressive leaders in charitable enterprises, especially in the large cities where expert service is most essential. With a body of intelligent and specially trained experts, giving their time and energies to the right development of the various branches of charitable effort, definite and constant advances may be expected. Indeed, even with the comparatively small number of trained persons already engaged in benevolent undertakings, there is a new spirit and impetus apparent in the work. The period is one pre-eminently of investigation. No sooner is some phase of social evil described by those engaged in practical charity,

than an inquiry is proposed, and the enthusiasm of research workers, the implements of modern science, and the resources of wealth are brought to bear upon it. To know thoroughly and then to remedy in the light of knowledge acquired, is the attitude of philanthropic leadership.

Whether this vigorous policy of finding out result in reaffirming that the causes of dependence lie in the inherent weakness of character; or whether there is a party of the second part in the organized forces of corruption, injustice, and predatory greed, which must be dealt with by radical methods; or whether the facts will sustain the socialists in their contention that the ills are too deep-seated to be remedied by anything short of an overthrow of the industrial order, is beside the purpose of this discussion.¹ The modern charity worker has been so far educated by his task that he now demands that ultimately justice shall precede charity, and prevention take the place of cure. It was once the accepted doctrine that prosperity and happiness were the natural results and reward of goodness, but the social worker in daily contact with the poor sees that their poverty comes from a deeper source than the vices or virtues of the individual—from sources which can be reached only by industrial and social changes which it is beyond the power of a single generation to make. In the knowledge of this fact, the charitable are filled with a true humility in the presence of the poor and without revelling in sentimentalities, still helping those who need help, they take part at the same time in the greater movement for the abolition of the conditions which make dependence inevitable.

¹ Kellogg, "Charities and the Commons," vol. xvi., 1906, pp. 292-293.

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In the field of charities, particularly, the use of periodical literature is essential. The articles listed have been carefully selected and relate to many subjects in the wider field of general philanthropy as well as to technical charities, and are intended to suggest collateral lines of reading as well. Attention is called to many special bibliographies accessible in the books and magazines named below.

To the inexperienced student some suggestions are offered concerning current publications which are of special value, although they are not always found in complete files even in large libraries. The most important of these are: Proceedings of the National Conference of Charities and Corrections, (*N.C.C.*), with its Cumulative Index and Guide; reports of the State Boards of Charities and the State Boards of Control, a list of which, with addresses of secretaries, is published each year in *N.C.C.*; reports of

Charity Organization societies, Associated Charities, etc., of cities; directories of charities of the larger cities; reports of State Conferences of Charities, of which a list is published in the current volumes of *N.C.C.*

Occasional articles on philanthropy appear in nearly all the economic periodicals, but the *American Journal of Sociology* and the *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* contain the most useful material. *Charities Magazine* (1897 ff.), which became *Charities and the Commons* in 1905,—the technical magazine of philanthropy,—is indispensable in the study of current philanthropic movements.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS.

- Am. Jo. of Inebriety* — American Journal of Inebriety.
Am. Jo. of Soc. — American Journal of Sociology.
Am. Statist. Assoc. — American Statistical Association.
Annals — American Academy of Political and Social Science.
Atlan. Mo. — Atlantic Monthly.
Char. Rev. — Charities Review.
C.O.S. — Charity Organization Society.
I.C.C.C.P. — International Congress of Charities and Correction.
N.C.C. — Proceedings of National Conference of Charities and Corrections.
N.A.R. — North American Review.
Pop. Sci. Mo. — Popular Science Monthly.
Quart. Jo. of Econ. — Quarterly Journal of Economics.

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